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EDITORIAL.

For some time past the Press of this city has been printing in its "Talks on the Tariff" a series of articles embracing what it calls "The Common Sense of Political Economy." The protectionists are so accustomed to getting up arguments, in which they themselves have no faith, for the purpose of deluding that object of their solicitude, "the working-man," that they cannot expect their opponents to take them seriously. It seems, however, that this particular writer for the Press is really in earnest, and he now announces that as all the tariff reform and free trade papers have failed to take issue with him, he shall take it for granted that they accept his conclusion that "a thing costs the nation what the nation parts with to obtain it, and that as the nation parts with only the original raw material to obtain a home product, it gets home products at the least cost, or cheapest."

We regret to impose on our amiable contemporary the work of beginning all over again, but we are compelled to admit that we regard its conclusion as simply silly. In the first place "the nation" has at present no lot or part in the matter. It is true that within the boundaries of this republic we have natural opportunities sufficient to support in comfort a thousand millions of industrious inhabitants. These inhabitants, however, neither as a people, nor as a nation, own these resources. They legally belong to a minority, and the best of them are owned by a very small minority, indeed. The result is that those who work to produce the aggregate wealth, which the Press thinks the nation owns, have to pay to the owners of these natural resources so large a share of the product of their labor that they have practically no more left than is necessary to enable them to continue to live and work. The individuals who do this work, and those who are paid for permitting them to work, between them, own the whole product, while "the nation" has no share in the product except that which it takes by taxation from individuals and places in the public treasury.

We, of course, use the word "nation" in its true sense, as that of a people in their political capacity, without wasting time on the argument as to whether or not the term "nation" is properly applicable to this union of states. We do not wish to juggle with definitions. It is probable that the Press uses the word in its colloquial sense, and means the people as a whole. But the people as a whole own nothing beyond a few public buildings, and that small portion of the public domain that their government has not yet given away. They do not work in common, they do not produce in common, and they do not in common own products, either to swap them for other products or to keep them for their own use. The socialists say that all this ought to be the case, but it certainly is not the case now, and the failure to understand this is the taproot of the protectionist delusion wherever it has honestly grown up. There might be within the limits of the United States twice the amount of wealth that exists within these limits to-day, with no other result than to make the rich actually richer and the poor relatively poorer than they now are. The most that can be claimed for protection, by its most

ardent defenders, is that it causes the production of more wealth, for somebody, and any attempt to show that it promotes such a division of the products of labor as will assure more wealth to everybody will ignominiously fail. Therefore, talk about "national" wealth is misleading.

Of course we deny that protection increases the aggregate wealth, however distributed. It cannot have any such effect. Wealth usually consists of what are commonly called goods; and always of the products of the application of labor to natural resources. There is, and can be, no other wealth. The so-called ownership of land means nothing beyond the legal grant by society to some particular persons of the power to monopolize certain natural resources for their own use or to charge other people for using them. This privilege is valuable to its possessor and easily increases his share of wealth, by enabling him to obtain the products of other men's labor, but it is not wealth and does not add one cent to the aggregate value of existing wealth. Other forms of monopoly are equally valuable to those holding them, but they add nothing to the aggregate wealth. They merely give some persons a larger portion than they would otherwise obtain of the things produced by other men's labor. As to notes, bonds and other certificates of indebtedness, they are not wealth, and the country would be no poorer if every one of them were burned to-morrow, though numerous individuals would be impoverished. They are merely evidences that certain people are using wealth or exercising privileges that legally belong to the holders of these evidences of indebtedness.

We beg pardon of the Press for this primary lesson in the very A B C of political economy, but as our limited space forbids frequent attempts at the conversion of our contemporary to a sane view of things, thoroughness is necessary when we do make the attempt. Including in the term "goods," houses, ships, railways and all other products of labor it is safe to say that wealth is goods and that goods are wealth; that goods are the products of labor, and that men expend labor because they want goods, and not because they like to labor. Let us emphasize this until the Press gets it clearly through its head. Men do not want work, they want goods. It is not plenty of work; but plenty of goods that promises prosperity; and general comfort follows if the goods are anything like fairly divided.

Now, how can a tariff cause goods to be produced? It is confessedly a restriction on trade; but trade is essential to giving men the goods that they want. A shoemaker cannot eat his shoes nor clothe himself with them. The western farmer does burn corn for fuel, but even a protectionist will admit that it would be better for him to swap his corn for coal or wood. Trade is as essential to civilized society as any other one of the processes by which men obtain the goods that they work for. Free trade is merely the widening of the area for trading. Men do not trade at home for any other purpose than to obtain something they want in exchange for something else that they consent to part with. Americans will not trade with Englishmen unless that is the easiest way to obtain more of some kinds of goods than they can obtain by direct

labor applied to the production of such goods for themselves. Any interference with this by the tariff lessens the amount of goods obtainable through a given amount of labor, and cannot increase the supply of goods.

Remembering this, what would remain of the absurd proposition of the Press if its socialistic assumption were true, and the American and British nations were producers and owners of wealth? Their wealth would consist of goods, and the value of goods would be the value of the raw material, plus the value of the labor necessary to put such raw material into condition for use. If under such circumstances America were to trade England a brick for a crock, the things swapped would be some clay wrought by American labor into one form and some clay wrought by English labor into another form. The clay without labor is almost valueless, and the value of the goods exchanged would be almost exclusively due to labor, and hardly at all to the raw material. If England wanted a brick and America wanted a crock, each would produce what it wanted for itself unless it discovered that it could obtain it more easily by swapping with the other. If that were found to be the easier way, it would obviously, therefore, be the better way. Suppose America found that its clay was adapted to the making of bricks better than to the making of crocks, and that a given amount of labor applied to its clay would produce a brick and a much larger amount would be required to produce a crock, whereas England found it easier to produce a crock than a brick. Is it not plain that America could obtain more crocks by applying its labor to brick making than it could by applying it to crock making? On the other hand, if such were not the case, would it not quickly discover the fact without outside help and make its own crocks, because in that way it would obtain more crocks as the product of a given amount of labor?

America is not engaged in any such business, but a great many Americans are thus engaged. The protectionists insist that they shall not decide for themselves as to the best means for obtaining the largest possible quantity of goods in return for a given amount of labor. They thereupon enact a law to compel us to make both the bricks and the crocks. They say this will make more work. That is true, but it will give us fewer crocks in return for that work, and it is more goods and not more work that men want. In the very nature of things such interference restricts production and injures chiefly to the benefit of the owner of the clay bed, who no longer has to compete with the owner of an English clay bed. Can the Press not see this? Can it not grasp for ten consecutive minutes the idea that what men want is goods—not work? What does the Press think the eight hour movement was instituted for? To give men more work, or less?

A workingman in this town was once denouncing a declaration that Henry George had made that what men want is not work for its own sake, but the products of work. The man insisted that he wanted work and wanted it badly. Joe Parker was listening to him, and he at once told the complainant that he had two tons of coal coming to his house that day, and asked him if he would be willing to put it in. "What are you willing

to give me?" asked the man. "Give you!" shouted Parker. "Give you! Why, I'm going to give you work. That's all you say you want. If you want anything more I'll do the job myself." The man out of work acquired through this incident a clear comprehension of a primary truth that somehow cannot penetrate the brain of the ordinary protectionist. Men work for goods, and the protectionist policy compels them to do more work in order to obtain a given amount of goods, and asks them to believe that this is a good thing.

Having satisfied itself, by the silence of its adversaries, that its "fundamental" raw material point is settled, the Press invites its free trade contemporaries to consider four other points. We must consider them gravely and then answer if we dare. They are as follows:

1. The laborers, wage workers or toilers in mining, building, manufacturing, transporting or handling, are the most numerous element of citizenship.

It is considered. Laborers are the most numerous element of citizenship. But whether so-called wage workers are or not is immaterial, since the worker, whether he work for himself or another, and whether he be a miner, a builder, a manufacturer or a trader, is best served by conditions that enable him to trade his products for more than they are worth, to him, compared with the products he gets for them.

2. The demand for labor is, of course, increased when new industries are established, whether by duties or in any other way.

It is considered. By no means is the demand for labor increased, of course, when new industries are established. When a new industry displaces an older one, or a new industry diminishes the demand for products of an older one, it does not follow that the demand for labor is thereby increased. If the new industries are established by protective duties, it is necessarily at the expense of the industry of importing, and, in consequence of higher prices for goods, also at the expense of all trading industries by which such goods are handled.

3. Increased demand without corresponding supply increases price, the price of the labor being the reward of the laborer.

It is considered. Yes, increased demand for labor without corresponding supply increases wages, if that is what the Press means. But the increased wages attract labor from all over the world, and a "corresponding supply" results in pulling wages down.

4. Therefore, the increase of national wealth by multiplying home industries increases the share of the wealth that goes to the most numerous class of citizens, and satisfies the modern economic requirements of distribution, so far as the tariff system is concerned with them.

It is impossible to consider this without turning the brain upside down. We might as well say twice two are three, twice three are six, and "therefore" twice six are seventy-four. Will the Press kindly read its "points" over again and consider them itself. Here they are reduced to their substance: (1) Laborers are the most numerous class of citizens; (2) demand for laborers is increased when new industries are established; (3) increased demand for laborers without corresponding supply increases wages; and (4) therefore, the increase of national wealth—by which is meant the aggregate wealth possessed in varying proportions by the individuals constituting the nation—increases the share of the most numerous class of citizens. Preposterous!

The Evening Post, in its report of the world's fair mass meeting at Cooper union, remarks "that the best seats were, as a rule, occupied by men whose ap-

pearance could not lead to the belief that they had any real estate interest in the subject under discussion." It furthermore remarks "that the audience within the hall cannot be said to have been representative of the intelligence and wealth of New York." In plain English, the Post wishes to intimate that the people who own New York do not want a world's fair held here, and that it is rather impertinent for the million or so of people who pay the owners for the permission of living on this island to express any opinion on the subject. This is doubtless the way the Evening Post feels, and the fact that it is dominated by this spirit fully accounts for its utter inability to accomplish anything for any good cause that it espouses. There is no doubt that the paper is edited with ability, nor that it is a sincere advocate of many highly desirable reforms; but unhappily it cannot conceal its contempt for the people, and it is therefore incapable of good in any country where democratic institutions prevail.

Mr. John S. Watters in the single tax column of the New Orleans Sunday States makes a proposal that might be carried out in a number of states, and which is certainly practicable in Louisiana. Of course the land grabbers have left comparatively little of really valuable land in the possession of any of the state governments, but if the plan proposed by Mr. Watters were adopted, a very considerable portion of land now lying idle could be brought into use, and as population increased and the margin of cultivation was lowered, these lands would come, in time, to have a considerable rental value, by which the state treasury would profit. Meantime they would be giving employment to a very considerable number of people. It is practical suggestions like these that will bring the single tax idea clearly to the minds of many who would otherwise neglect it.

There seem to be depths into which the republican senate cannot be dragged by the Dudley-Clarkson gang. Warmouth does not seem likely to be confirmed as collector of the port at New Orleans. The Louisiana lottery company will probably receive no benefit from its contribution of the bribery fund in Dakota, if its attorney is not made collector of the port, and the bill to license it in the new state is defeated. Perhaps Clarkson and Dudley will find it difficult to arrange for the collection of similar funds in the future.

The single tax club of Chicago has called a conference of the single tax men in Cook county, with a view to getting our friends together, so that they may afford one another mutual encouragement. Every gathering of the kind, if it can be made successful, renders valuable service to the cause by increasing the momentum of its progress.

The New York Sun observes that it would be difficult to make up an "alphabetical" list of American statesmen in which Leon Abbett's name should not lead. This clever bit of sarcasm indicates that Governor Abbett's sound utterances on ballot reform are likely to deprive him of Charles A. Dana's friendship, which the able Jerseyman has had the deplorable misfortune to incur.

Rev. Harold Rylett's letter in the last issue of THE STANDARD was rendered unintelligible to many readers through a blunder in "making up" the paper. For the benefit of those who have tried in vain to solve the puzzle we can give a simple plan that anyone can follow. Count nine lines down from the date line and draw a mark under the line ending with the words, "Proceeding the other day to a

meet." Number the part above this line 1. Pass over in a straight line to the fourth column on the same page and you will find a line ending, "Among those who have benefited most." Immediately below it the misplaced matter begins with the "ing" needed to complete the word "meeting." This misplaced matter fills the remainder of that column and runs over into the first column on Page 7 six lines, ending with the words, "Another thing he should remem-". Inclose this misplaced matter between two marks and number it 2. Number the matter following the first mark 3 and that following the last mark 4, and the letter can then be easily read in the order in which it ought to have been printed. Complicated as this appears, the error was one easily made. The matter inclosed between lines, and marked 2, by some surprising blunder got out of its place, and once out of its place there was nothing to show the error until the paper was printed. If it had been "emptied in" right after the first line, the remainder of the article under the portion marked 1 would have been right. How the blunder occurred is more a mystery to the man who made it than to any one else. We advise those who save their STANDARDS to mark and number the article in the way we have suggested, so that they shall enjoy the pleasure of reading in proper order one of the best and most interesting of the many valuable letters Mr. Rylett has contributed to our columns.

Behold, how extremes meet. William II. of Germany has been thanked by English socialists for his newly outlined plan of imperial socialism, and an advocate of British monarchy finds that the only refuge of that useless institution is the referendum.

That amiable "lost leader" of liberalism, the London Spectator, hopes that the British conservatism of the future will be a conservatism of the democratic masses, and believes that it will be quite as much at war with radicalism on many issues as was the old tory conservatism against which the Spectator lately battled. The Spectator believes that this new conservatism of the masses will be on the side of property, will hold by the throne, will oppose extreme legislation against the house of lords, and will not make haste to set on foot schemes too "sentimentally humanitarian." In all these things the wish is father to the thought, for the Spectator has always stood by property, the throne and the house of lords, and has seldom been "too sentimentally humanitarian." But the Spectator hurls itself in a false security; for whatever patience the British democracy may show for a time toward such antique shams as the throne and the house of lords, it will very shortly demonstrate its determination to abolish one species of wrongful ownership, which no doubt the Spectator has in mind when it speaks of "property." Doubtless the mass of English democrats will protect the ownership of things that are rightly objects of property, but it will not long tolerate private property in English land. When the land question becomes the burning issue of British politics the Spectator will find the classes and the masses arrayed in hostile ranks, and its dream of a conservative democracy will have flown.

A POSTAL TELEGRAPH BILL.

Representative Wade of Missouri introduced into the house at Washington last week a bill "to establish a government postal telegraph system." It creates a bureau under the control of a fourth assistant postmaster general, and requires that this officer shall cause to be constructed through the states and territories a trunk line of postal telegraph to

reach all cities and towns that now have telegraphic communication. The line is to be constructed and kept in repair under the direction of the secretary of war through a corps of engineers, but the postmaster general is authorized to employ all persons necessary to conduct the business. The rates are fixed for 500 miles or less at ten cents for twenty words; and for 500 to 1,000 miles one cent per word, with a corresponding increase for greater distances. Press dispatches are to be taken at one-third a cent per word for 1,000 miles, and for greater distances at proportionate rates. The act does not prohibit individuals or corporations from carrying on the telegraph business, and apparently makes no provision for the purchase of lines already in existence. The passage of such a bill would be infinitely preferable to granting the powers asked for by Mr. Wanamaker, and the opposition to it on the ground that it will interfere with vested interests deserves no serious consideration.

Of course something may be said against it from the standpoint of opposition to socialism, but there is nothing in this argument that is not equally applicable to the maintenance of the postal system by the government. Since the constitution of the United States distinctly authorizes the federal government to establish and maintain a postal system, and since telegraph messages come as naturally under the control of the postal system as do letters or papers, there is no question whatever as to the power of congress in the premises, and there is in our opinion little question as to the necessity for the action proposed. Those vested interests in existing telegraph lines that are really property interests, can and ought to be bought by the government at their true valuation. If the owners do not care to sell them the government can duplicate the lines, which will be so much worse for the owners, since after that the government will not care to buy. There is no reason, however, why the government should take into consideration, in its estimate of the value of existing telegraph lines, their present capacity to pay inordinate profits on fictitious capital. If such capital were instantaneously destroyed it would not make the country one cent poorer. The act would simply take away from certain favored individuals their present power to rob other citizens. If the bill passes, Jay Gould can sell out or not, just as he pleases; his enemies will doubtless be delighted if he refuses to sell.

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

The attempt of the youthful emperor of Germany to weaken the strength of organized socialism by a tacit promise to incorporate its principles into his system of government has resulted, not as he hoped, in diminishing the socialist vote, but in enormously increasing it. The emperor's concession was accepted to some extent as an acknowledgment of the justice of the socialists' demands, but the leaders of the party naturally preferred to endeavor to keep in their own hands the carrying out of their plans, instead of intrusting the task to so new a convert. Furthermore the emperor's action was taken by many as a practical confession of the injustice of the previous persecution of socialists, and this has assisted in bringing about a healthy reaction against the Bismarckian attempt to control public thought by the clubs of policemen and the sabres of cavalrymen. A notable instance of this reaction is found in the defeat of the distinguished liberal, Professor Virchow, by an aged Polish bookbinder named Janiszewski, because the latter has been the victim of repeated police persecution. Perhaps, however, this was not the only cause of

the concentration of the socialists' strength against Virchow, since he is one of the leaders of the party that most clearly comprehends and vigorously opposes the fundamental error of socialism.

It now seems probable that the second elections (in districts where no candidate received a majority at the first elections) may give the socialists a sufficient number of members to make them an important factor in legislation. It is certainly to be hoped that their number will be large enough to enable them to put an end to the senseless legislation that Bismarck has heretofore been able to obtain from the conglomeration of factions that he has been using as a working majority.

There is much reason why the friends of liberty throughout the world should rejoice in the advance of socialism in Germany. The socialistic leaders in that country, and a considerable body of their followers, are unquestionably believers in the principles of Karl Marx; but the great mass of their followers are simply workingmen, wearied and disgusted with the load that imperialism has fastened upon their shoulders. All of them are liable to military duty, and all, of course, are heavily taxed. The double burden is almost unbearable, and the socialistic promise of international good will and the abolition of armies appeals strongly to a people thus crushed beneath a military despotism supported by a barbaric system of finance and taxation. That such men should turn away from the servile worship of monarchy to embrace any new ideas, however erroneous, and oppose the government, is a happy augury of future progress. Furthermore, if the experiment of state socialism is to be tried anywhere, Germany is the right place for it. The German people are educated into submission to bureaucratic rule, and as state socialism would require as complete submission to a bureaucracy as does the system of Bismarck, they are the people who could most readily give it a fair trial.

Whether this trial is ever made or not the increase in the socialistic vote has accomplished the excellent result of breaking the combination by which Bismarck has been enabled to obtain a seeming parliamentary sanction for the arbitrary policy that he has pursued. The combination of factions, which we should call a coalition, but which is there called a cartel, has been hopelessly defeated. The factions composing it have as yet secured but 74 seats in the new reichstag, as against 213 held by them previously. Of course the number will be increased somewhat at the secondary elections, but there is no longer a possibility that the cartel parties will have a working majority. In fact, it looks doubtful if any combination can be made that will give any group of parties a working majority. There are already rumors of the speedy dissolution of the new reichstag.

If this situation shall result in the formation of parties in Germany on some rational conception of political principles, it will really be an excellent thing. At present, the reichstag is divided into groups, seeking trivial and temporary ends. It cannot, however, be long before the inevitable tendencies that affect political action wherever parliamentary government is established will divide the Germans broadly into two parties, one of which shall find its extreme in absolutism and the other in radicalism of the most pronounced type. As the country progresses a real liberal party will unquestionably be formed. In fact, it appears that the nucleus of such a party already exists. According to a recent article in Harper's Weekly, by Mr. Poultney Bigelow, the party spoken of in the daily newspapers as the German

liberal, but which calls itself the Freisinnige, is a truly liberal party. It appears, however, in the recent elections to have lost some of its strength, though it expects to more than recover its losses in the supplementary elections.

This party is described by Mr. Bigelow as believing that the constitution really amounts to something. It seeks "to hold the prime minister accountable to the country as well as to his sovereign; to check the spread of officialism and soldierism," and to accomplish results through private enterprise rather than by governmental activity. It opposes socialism, whether advocated by the masses or practiced by Bismarck, and it sharply criticises and ridicules the grotesque notions of the chancellor on questions of political economy. It is a free trade party, and therefore proposes to eradicate one of the principal causes that array nations in Europe, one against the other, and it offers in this a practical step toward that disarmament, of which socialism merely dreams. It opposes all demands to put down ideas by force, and can be depended upon, despite its opposition to socialism, to vote steadily against all demands to give legal sanction to police interference with public meetings and Bismarck's demand of the power to banish socialists from their homes.

In the growth of such a party must be found the hope of real constitutional government and lasting free institutions in Germany; and we cannot doubt that anything which shakes the existing order as rudely as does this recent socialistic advance will tend toward strengthening the only party that can be depended on in the long run to preserve German unity, without sacrificing that personal liberty of which no civilized people will consent much longer to be deprived. The immediate effect of the elections will probably be a renewed and rough grasp at absolute power by Bismarck, who will seek to purchase support by concessions to the old aristocracy on one hand and the Catholic party on the other. But no political combination thus formed can long exist in Germany, for the gathering force of hostile public sentiment will overthrow it at the polls, and if the voice of the people thus expressed be persistently defied the monarchy itself will go down, as did that of France, beneath the swords of its chosen defenders.

MILL CITED IN VAIN.

Mr. C. H. Sargent in an article from the February issue of the Contemporary Review, summarized elsewhere, cites John Stuart Mill in contravention of the idea that "rates" are not a tax upon the occupier. Mr. Sargent's article, it should be understood, is in criticism of a pamphlet by Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Q. C., advocating the taxation of ground values. If we are not misled by Mr. Sargent's statement of the question, Mr. Moulton advocates the taxation of ground values up to the full annual rental, and if Mr. Moulton is the single taxer unlimited that this would indicate, then he believes in the taxation also of agricultural lands up to their full rental value. If this is the case, Mr. Sargent has summoned Mill in vain. In the paragraph of "Principles of Political Economy," which Mr. Sargent cites, Mill says at one point: "In the end, therefore, the occupier bears that portion of a tax on rent which falls on the payment made for the house itself, exclusively of the ground it stands on." Of course, no single taxer will quarrel with this. Any real estate tax in excess of ground rent must fall upon improvements. Mill then says of a tax on rent: "It will not, however, fall wholly on the landlord, unless with the tax on ground rent there is combined an equivalent tax on agricultural rent."

But the single taxer contemplates that there shall be an equivalent tax on agricultural rent, and therefore there is nothing in this utterance of Mill's to give real aid and comfort to Mr. Sargent. Later on, however, Mill does admit that a tax on ground rent, laid at a fixed rate per square foot, irrespective of more or less valuable situations, may fall in part upon the occupier, but he adds:

But a tax on ground rent is supposed to be a portion of a house tax, which is not a fixed payment, but a percentage on the rent. The cheapest site, therefore, being supposed as before to pay £1, the dearest would pay £100, of which only the £1 could be thrown upon the occupier, since the rent would still be raised only to £101. Consequently £99 of the £100 levied from the expensive site would fall on the ground landlord.

According to Mill's own reasoning, with an equivalent tax on agricultural land, the landlord would be unable to saddle even this £1 on the occupier. So Mr. Sargent has cited Mill in vain.

TRADES UNIONISM.

It is eminently proper that the men who work at trades should organize for their own protection. They have just as good a right to form trades unions as the lawyers or doctors have, or as the merchants have to form protective associations, boards of trade and chambers of commerce. It is folly, however, to even pretend that such organizations can do anything toward solving the labor problem. They can try for whatever seems to them best worth trying for, but they will finally have to accept what existing conditions compel them to put up with, and existing conditions will compel them to put up with less than they desire and far less than they are justly entitled to.

So long as trades unionism recognizes itself as an agency for making the best of a bad situation, it will deserve the approval and support of all who are so constituted that they love justice and side with the under dog in a fight. When, however, it pretends that its mere expedients are matters of great principle, formulated by "the ablest economic thinkers," and contain within them the solution of the labor problem, trades unionism becomes ridiculous. If it goes further and seeks to prevent men from looking over its narrow walls to find a remedy for the wrongs against which it contends in vain, it becomes vicious.

The trades union is a business organization for the personal advantages of those composing it. Its object is legitimate whether its methods are wise or otherwise. It is engaged in a struggle to obtain the highest attainable price for the labor of those concerned, under conditions that constantly tend to lower the price of labor. It certainly accomplishes something, and occasionally accomplishes a good deal, but its success is like that of a strong man bearing a load. The law of gravitation and the natural decay of his powers are against him, and he will, in the end, succumb.

These are facts that intelligent trades unionists already comprehend. They also know that within these unions are many causes of weakness, and that the support given them by a large proportion of their members is not a glad and enthusiastic support. Furthermore they know that their actual numerical strength is little if any greater than that of the army of the unemployed, and that the great majority of laborers are outside the unions. These facts do not justify any proposal to dissolve the unions, but they do demonstrate to thoughtful men the folly of depending on trades unionism to solve the problem of improving the conditions under which the producer is deprived of so large a proportion of the product of his toil. The so-called "labor leaders" who close their eyes to this fact will never lead those foolish enough to follow them elsewhere

than into the ditch of failure and despair.

"THE WORLD ON TAXATION."

Mr. Blumenthal's bill, now pending in the legislature, providing for the exemption from taxation of all real and personal property leased by charitable institutions, free libraries, etc., is as foolish as it is unjustifiable. As the World points out, it simply exempts from taxation the owner who leases land for such purposes and offers no guarantee that he will lower his charge for rent. Aside from this the bill is vicious, and violates the sound principle that the burden shall be even and equal on each species of property subjected to taxation. All exemptions pave the way for favoritism or fraud.

The World, however, does not stop with pointing out a weak spot in Mr. Blumenthal's bill. It says that "a much more important measure of tax reform is one to which no legislator at Albany is directing his attention, namely, the unjust and unlawful undervaluation of unimproved lands." It calls attention to the fact that this discrimination is in defiance of law, and says:

The effect of the practice is to offer a premium upon the withholding of land from occupation and use. It has also the effect of making the owners of improved property, the men who bestir themselves to build up our cities, bear more than their fair share of the burdens of taxation.

This is sound sense and good political economy, and we hope that single tax men will join in urging the World to make such an examination into the valuation of property in this city as will show the outrageous extent to which this lawless discrimination is carried. Thanks to THE STANDARD's efforts, there has been a decided improvement so far as vacant lots in the built-up portion of the city are concerned; but in the upper end of this island and in the annexed district we are told that the valuation of vacant land for taxation, as compared with the prices at which such land is held, is simply preposterous. The World is a great and enterprising paper, with a liking for the exposure of public wrongs and abuses. Here is a rich opportunity to serve the public by replenishing the city treasury and promoting the building of more dwelling houses.

GARRISON AND THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

We print in this issue of THE STANDARD the first of a series of four articles on "William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition Movement," by Sarah Millin Gay, who is a daughter of Garrisonian parents and fully imbued with the spirit that animated the great anti-slavery crusade. The articles are a comprehensive review and summary of the life of Garrison, recently issued by his children. They deserve the careful attention of our readers, and they cannot fail to prove highly interesting, not only to those who remember the scenes and incidents that they recall, but to the much larger number to whom the anti-slavery movement is merely a matter of history or tradition.

There is, however, another reason why it is important that single tax advocates shall not only study these articles, but if possible read the volumes that they so admirably summarize. As Miss Gay points out, there are some notable similarities between the movement of which the elder William Lloyd Garrison was the head and front and that in which the William Lloyd Garrison of to-day is an honored leader. There are also points of difference, which are clearly pointed out, and a careful study of these articles will be highly instructive to all who are carefully considering the best methods for advancing the movement that aims to bring to all men a more perfect freedom than even the noble courage and unflagging zeal of the abolitionists was able

to obtain for the black people of this country.

It is not our purpose to comment on the similarities and differences of the two movements until all the articles shall have been completed, but we wish to direct attention to one of the differences that is indicated by Mr. Garrison's remark that the negroes were the victims of a wrong that they were powerless to remedy, whereas the victims of other wrongs had the remedy in their own hands. This remains true of the victims of industrial slavery, and our task is chiefly one of pointing out the way and of arousing men to exercise their legal powers to peacefully achieve their own freedom.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON
AND THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT.
(FIRST PAPER.)

In every progressive nation will be found a small number of persons whose clear moral vision and broad sympathetic minds give them a deeper insight into the social problems of the day than is possible to the mass of their countrymen. Banded together in reverence for human rights, they stand in the van of human progress and point the way to their lagging brothers. To these, the life of William Lloyd Garrison must ever be an inspiration. To these, struggling to stir the indifference of the great world, preaching that liberty is progress and justice is gain, the spectacle of a young man hardly more than a lad in years but old in wisdom and strong in truth, attacking, almost alone and single handed, the giant evil of his time, the fundamental injustice of his day and generation, is a challenge to be up and doing; and, as the scene changes and he is seen surrounded by a band of earnest soldiers who live to gather in the reward of their noble services and the compensation for many sacrifices in the triumph of their principles, it is an encouragement to believe that the hope of the present must be the certainty of the future.

Between the covers of this book (1) is told, in part, the story of the movement which overthrew chattel slavery in the United States. As the authors say in their preface, "for the period covered by these volumes Mr. Garrison was the incarnation of the cause which he founded. On this account it has been extremely difficult to keep within biographical limits." In the field to which they invite the general reader they have had almost no predecessors. They say, "In the following pages we are brought face to face with a world which will appear wholly new and strange to the generation now upon the scene. The school histories of the United States, with hardly an exception, ignore it altogether; it barely comes within the horizon of the manuals of American history; it is invisible in the biographies of public men of the era before the rise of the republican party, or even down to the eve of the rebellion. Yet, the abolitionists, it is now confessed, were all the time occupied with the main question of American politics—with what had been the main question ever since the formation of the constitution."

At no time was anti-slavery sentiment so feeble as during the years following the Missouri compromise in 1820. Previous to that year statesmen, including many of the revolutionary leaders, eminent divines and private citizens, had raised their voices from time to time, though more and more faintly, in condemnation of slavery; and it is open to doubt whether the northern delegates to the constitutional convention would have consented to the continuation of the slave trade, the three-fifths representation which gave to the south the governing power from 1800 till the election of Lincoln, and the rendition of fugitive slaves, had pressed as they were by the threats of the southern delegates that they "would not confederate," if they had not believed that "slavery in time will not be a speck in

our country." It is hardly an exaggeration to say that during the decade subsequent to 1820 the spark of anti-slavery feeling was kept alive by the breath of a single man, Benjamin Lundy, who, however, had little influence outside his own religious body, the Society of Friends.

But a change was imminent. Garrison, going further than his teacher, announced, for the first time loud enough to be heard by all, the doctrine of "immediate and unconditional emancipation" which rallied the oppressor and his friends to the defence of their "peculiar institution," and gave force and cohesion to the enemies of slavery. A "cause" was born which, conducted with "millennial fervor" and growing with time, made possible the election of Lincoln, the civil war and the proclamation of emancipation.

Thus the brief sketch of Mr. Garrison's career which follows is also an imperfect outline of the abolition movement. It is to be hoped that the readers of THE STANDARD will fill it in for themselves, for to no others will this full, clear, and most graphic biography prove of such absorbing interest. Standing to-day where stood the abolitionist of fifty years ago, the single tax man attacks the giant wrong of his time and points to its cure; he uses the same arguments, lays down the same principles, appeals to the same sympathies. In turning these pages he will find that the faith and hope of the abolitionist are his faith and hope; that his aims are the same, and even his methods are singularly like those of his predecessor. And naturally, since the causes are identical. For what is slavery? Is it not the denial of man's right to himself—to his various and varying powers and the results of their exercise? The difference between the ownership of man and the ownership of that element on and from which he must live, if he is to live at all, is one of degree and not of kind. We have grown daintier in our modes of oppression, more subtle and complex, impersonal. If we borrow the eyes of the abolitionist and look at things as they are, we shall see that necessity is an effective whip-lash, poverty a heavy ball and chain, and want a bloodhound which no water can throw off the scent, unless indeed it closes above the head of the fugitive. It would shock our sensibilities now to decide in weighty assemblies that it is cheaper to use up a gang of workmen in seven years than to keep them alive by good food, shelter and clothing; but can we say that no one of our brothers is starved to death on business principles? The auction block is no longer the wedge which we use to part husband and wife, parents and children; but that they are separated is proved by the wide doors of penitentiary, reformatory, and asylum. Happily in this comparison there are contrasts as well as likenesses. The former were well summed up by Mr. Garrison in reply to a gentleman who seemed to "consider the evils which now oppress society" "almost as intolerable and iniquitous as were those which characterized the atrocious system of chattel slavery." "What," said Mr. Garrison, "have they [the toiling masses . . . the American people] to complain of in regard to constitution and laws for which they are not directly responsible? What outside power is subjecting them to wrongs and deprivations which call in thunder-tones for another emancipation crusade? What inside power is comparable to their own collective will and unquestionable strength? What new safeguards for their freedom, safety and happiness do they need, that they have not the means to establish? Is not the government of them, by them, and for them (ostracized womanhood excepted) to be molded as they shall judge best? Or, if in any case it is not for them, upon whom rests the responsibility but themselves?" Here we have the difference between the negro chattel slaves and the industrial slaves of America to-day; and a tremendous difference it is. When Mr. Garrison visited the south in 1865, he addressed twelve hundred "contrabands" just brought from the interior by his son's company. "They presented a

picture of the misery and degradation of slavery and slave life such as Mr. Garrison had never before witnessed and had scarcely conceived." "Well, my friends," said he, "you are free at last—let us give three cheers for freedom!" and leading off he gave the first cheer. To his amazement there was no response, the poor creatures looking at him in wonder, and he had to give the second and third cheer also without them. *They did not know how to cheer.* To-day great masses of toilers are banded together in a society which has for its motto: Educate, Agitate, Organize. What a mighty contrast! Ignorance is the great tyrant; every despot, from the Czar of all the Russias, to the ward politician, rules by its permission.

To-day the duty of the reformer is clear, simple and easy; how easy every Nicodemus who reads these volumes will blush to recognize. He must educate, agitate and organize until ignorance yields to enlightenment and the average citizen is ready to drop his Australian ballot for free trade and the single tax.

And let him not forget that he owes to Mr. Garrison more than to any other man the fact that we are giving such answers to the social problems of our time. For it is an acknowledged certainty, that had chattel slavery continued we should eventually, if not now, be struggling not for a greater measure of freedom, but for the preservation of the little we already have.

William Lloyd Garrison was born December 10, 1805, in Newburyport, Massachusetts. We must pass over his struggling boyhood, his seven years apprenticeship in a printing office, his anonymous contributions to the press, his editorial ventures, his youthful political ardor and interest in reform; nor may we stop to consider the early exhibition of those rare qualities of head and heart which were destined to make him the leader in a moral movement, the like of which for vigor, rapidity and tremendous achievement the world has never seen.

We find Mr. Garrison in Baltimore at the age of twenty-four years, associated with Benjamin Lundy in editing and printing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, at that time the only anti-slavery paper in the United States. Here occurred an incident which made Mr. Garrison widely known as the friend of the slave. To show the southern people that in opposing slavery he "disregarded all sectional feeling" he published with appropriate comments the statement that a vessel, hailing from Newburyport, Massachusetts, and belonging to his fellow-townsmen Francis Todd, had lately transported seventy-five slaves to the southern market. This resulted in a suit for libel, which, in spite of the law and the facts, went against Mr. Garrison, and he was fined fifty dollars and costs. In default of payment he was shut up in Baltimore jail, where he lay seven weeks, until the payment of his fine by a stranger, Arthur Tappan of New York, released him. Expressions of sympathy had poured in on the prisoner, and he had made good use of his time; besides a sketch of the trial, "caustic cards" to his principal opponents, several sonnets—of which one, *The Freedom of the Mind*, is quite famous—and communications to the press, he wrote three lectures on slavery and colonization, which he subsequently delivered. This good beginning was made permanent by the establishment of the *Liberator*, the most important paper of the cause, as well as the mouthpiece of its editor till the abolition of slavery. On January 1, 1831, Mr. Garrison and his partner, Isaac Knapp, like himself a practical printer, issued the first number. It had been printed at night on the press of a daily paper by the permission of the foreman, a friend, with type lent by another friend "in return for their services by day as journeymen at the case." Soon, however, with a hand press bought on credit and a "lot of well-worn second-hand type," they established themselves in a dingy attic room, which was workshop and home in one. "The partners lived chiefly on bread and milk, a few cakes and a little fruit," and performed "every

day but the Sabbath, fourteen hours of manual labor on [their] paper, independent of mental toil." That the labor and toil were effective was quickly proved. The editor's promise, "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice," was kept, and his prophecy, "I will be heard," was soon fulfilled. Immediately the mails brought to the office threatening and abusive letters, which, after the slave insurrection in Virginia, grew more frequent and violent. Editors began to invoke mob action, a North Carolina paper suggested "barbecuing"—i. e., roasting alive—for the "secret agents" who, it said, were circulating the "incendiary paper." The governor of South Carolina sent a special messenger to the legislature of Massachusetts demanding the suppression of the "incendiary documents" with "suitable punishment" for their authors; and the legislature of Georgia offered a reward of \$5,000 for the arrest, trial and conviction of the editors of the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison was accused of inciting to rebellion Nat Turner and his fellow slaves who had, in August, murdered some fifty families in the neighborhood of Southampton, though without plunder or outrage. "The deluded prophet," more fortunate than some of his followers, was hung; *their* flesh was burnt with red-hot irons. Their faces mutilated, their jaws broken asunder and then set up as a mark to shoot at, their hamstrings cut, their bodies stuck like pigs, their heads spiked to the whipping post."

Mr. Garrison replied that he had not a single subscriber in the south, and pointed the moral of the insurrection in the words "immediate emancipation."

To the influence of the *Liberator* and Mr. Garrison's lectures was due the formation, in January, 1832, of the New England anti-slavery society, the first of all the societies based on the principle of "immediate emancipation." It prepared an address to which seventy-two names were appended. "Such was the body pitted against the Colonization society, against (as events proved) the American church, against the American union." It prepared at once to "begin the work of popular agitation." At this time appeared Mr. Garrison's "Thoughts on Colonization," a complete exposure of the society's "fraudulent pretences" and its unavowed "purpose to strengthen slavery by expelling the free people of color whom the slave holders [many of whom were members of the society] instinctively deemed a constant source of danger."

This "tremendous pamphlet" caused great excitement in England, whither Mr. Garrison followed it the next year to expose the misrepresentations of the society's agent then collecting funds among the friends of the slave. Here he witnessed the passage of the bill emancipating 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies, and "even more precious privilege" attended the funeral of Wilberforce in Westminster abbey. In the unexampled train of mourners . . . walked, "Mr. Garrison, "the least observed and least known of the funeral procession, yet the one upon whom, if upon any one, Wilberforce's mantle had fallen, and whose prominence in this historic scene must grow with the shifting perspective of time."

The persecution of Miss Prudence Crandall by her neighbors of Canterbury, Conn., for having opened a school for colored "young ladies and misses"—a persecution so inhuman in its details as to be now, sixty years later, almost beyond belief—had been indignantly noticed in the *Liberator*. In revenge for this, certain citizens of that town, among them members of the Colonization society, had tried to procure the arrest of the editor just before he sailed for England, "with the sole intention to convey me south and deliver me up to the authorities of Georgia," wrote Mr. Garrison. So, on his return, did he find popular feeling inflamed against him. As agent of the New England anti-slavery society, he had, in an eloquent speech at Exeter hall, held his country responsible for the sin of slavery, and called her "a guilty nation."

(1) William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879. The story of his life told by his children. In four volumes. New York, The Century Company, 1885-1889.

Incited thereto by two newspapers and a hand-bill signed "Many Southerners," a "genuine, drunken, infuriated mob of blackguards" gathered at Tammany hall, burst into an anti-slavery meeting called, by a coincidence, for the day of his landing. They saw only "the retreating heels of the members." In Boston, also, similar demonstrations led to no harm. In December, in Philadelphia, Mr. Garrison saw a "darling project successfully carried out," the formation of the American anti-slavery society. He wrote the "Declaration of Sentiments," sitting up all night to do it. "Never in my life," says Rev. S. J. May, "have I seen a deeper impression made by words than was made by that admirable document upon all who were there present. After the voice of the reader had ceased there was a profound silence for several minutes. Our hearts were in perfect unison. . . . We felt that the word had just been uttered which would be mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strongholds of slavery." And J. G. Whittier describes the scene later: "Samuel J. May rose to read it for the last time. His sweet persuasive voice faltered with the intensity of his emotions as he repeated the solemn pledges of the concluding paragraphs. After a season of silence, David Thurston of Maine rose as his name was called by one of the secretaries and affixed his name to the document. One after another passed up to the platform, signed, and retired in silence. All felt the deep responsibility of the occasion—the shadow and forecast of a life-long struggle rested upon every countenance." The meeting closed with "a prayer to Almighty God, full of fervor and feeling, imploring His blessing and sanctification upon the convention and its labors."

SARAH MIFFLIN GAY.

RUSKIN AND THE SINGLE TAX.

It would be interesting to know whether John Ruskin has ever studied the theory of the single tax or embraced its doctrine. In 1872 he had begun clearly to see the evils of land monopoly, as is proved by the following extracts from "Fors Clavigera—Letters to the Workmen and Laborers of Great Britain." Coming from a great intellectual leader, whose eloquence has been given to the cause of truth and justice, his words must carry weight. In these letters he seems to find the only remedy for social evils in a more extended cultivation of the soil. Limited though the scheme he proposes must seem, it is based on a clear conception of the right of man to earth, air and water.

To the workingman he says: "You will find it true that practically all wages mean the food and lodging given you by the possessors of the land. It begins to be asked on many sides how the possessors of the land became possessed of it, and why they should still possess it, more than you or I. The true answer, in this matter as in all others, is the best. Some land has been bought; some won by cultivation; but the greater part, in Europe, seized originally by force of hand.

"During the last eight hundred years the upper classes of Europe have been one large Picnic Party. Most of them have been religious also; and in sitting down, by companies, upon the green grass in parks, gardens and the like, have considered themselves commanded into that position by Divine authority, and fed with bread from Heaven: of which they duly considered it proper to bestow the fragments in support, and the tithes in tuition, of the poor.

"I have a bit of lowland at Greenwich, which, as far as I see anything of it, is not money at all, but only mud; and would be of as little use to me as my handful of gravel in the drawer, if it were not that an ingenious person has found out that he can make chimney-pots out of it; and every quarter he brings me £15 of the price of his chimney-pots, so that I am always sympathetically glad when there is a high wind, because then I know my ingenious friend's business is thriving. But suppose it should come into his head in any

less windy month than this April, that he had better bring me none of the price of his chimneys? And even though he should go on, as I hope he will patiently (and I always give him a glass of wine when he brings me the £15), is this really to be called money of mine? And is the country any richer because, when anybody's chimney-pot is blown down in Greenwich, he must pay something after to me before he can put it on again?

"I very positively can inform you the considerable part of the misery of the world comes of the tricks of unjust taxation. All its evil passions—pride, lust, revenge, malice and sloth—derive their main deadliness from the facilities of getting hold of other people's money open to the persons they influence. Pay everybody for his work—pay nobody but for his work—and see that the work be sound; and you will find pride, lust and sloth have little room left for themselves.

"Hath the rain a father—and who hath begotten the drops of dew—the hoary Frost of Heaven—who hath generated it? That rain and frost of heaven; and the earth which they loose and bind—these, and the labor of your hands to divide them, and subdue, are your wealth, forever—unincreasable. The fruit of Earth, and its waters, and its light—such as the strength of the pure rock can grow—such as the unthwarted sun in its season brings—these are your inheritance."

A. S. H.

Syracuse, N. Y.

HOW TO MAKE CONVERTS.

Nothing is so irritating to one's self-regard as to have another put a question with the air of a philosopher and the patronizing attitude of a wiseacre. A friend who happens to be one of the vanguard in our great cause, and who is also a member of a club which represents the culture and refinement of the city, was in attendance at their meeting the evening the single tax idea was expounded. Before the address was given some one next to him, with considerable assurance, started in to make clear our position in this fashion: "Now let me explain the single tax idea to you." My friend's ire was raised immediately at the presumption, and he quickly answered: "You cannot tell me anything about it, as I have been interested in the movement from the first." It is an invasion of individual rights to thrust one's own opinions upon an unwilling hearer; the motives may be the best, but the means are objectionable. It should be our purpose to create a willing, instead of an unwilling listener, and to do good personal work we must not raise prejudices at the very outset by commencing a talk in some such dogmatic way as this: "The single tax is the remedy for all the ills that flesh is heir to." In nine cases out of ten one with no knowledge of our principles will answer to this effect: "Nonsense! No law in the universe can set to rights that which is and always has been the government of civilized man." By this sort of opening you have, you see, raised an emphatic hostile feeling, which has to be first overcome before the mind will be in fit condition to receive and weigh the pros and cons of the question.

Life is too short to waste in irrelevant argument, and this is exactly what takes place if one commences badly. The desired proselyte makes all sorts of flimsy objections, and time is wasted which would be utilized to good result were a different beginning made. My suggestion is this: Take up some flagrant and open violation of justice to the down-trodden—and goodness knows enough examples abound—then get an expression of opinion upon the right and wrong of the matter, and human nature, being very nearly one in the utterance upon suffering (not always the action), that you commence with a feeling of accord. From this initial step, advance by degrees to an explanation of the single tax and the impossibility of any one, high or low, paying more than his rightful share of the common expenses, and lo! the mists gradually fade away, and the structure

stands out in full view. This procedure is flexible, and can be suited to various requirements.

A thinker has said, "The spiritual happiness of man is equally apportioned, for every man gets as much as he can carry." The lesson we should draw from this is, not to burden one's mind with more than he can grasp. MORRIS LYSCHEHEIM.

Philadelphia.

A DIALOGUE.

Scene: At the polls in Chicago on the day of election for drainage trustees.

Monopolist—Good morning, Mr. Single Tax. Who are you going to vote for?

Single Tax—Well, I am going to make up a ticket from the different tickets in the field, composed of those who seem to be most favorable to assessing the cost of the work against the lands benefited.

M.—Now, you ought to vote the citizens' ticket. That will give us honest men, who will see to it that the money is properly expended and not wasted in boodle schemes. We want clean men in places of such importance where they have the handling of such vast sums of money.

S. T.—That's all very well, but it seems to me that the real issue in this election is not so much how the money is spent, but how it is raised. Shall the men who get the whole value of the improvement, and who are able to push up the rents on us, escape paying for these benefits by raising the money through general taxation?

M.—Well, of course, that's the way the money will have to be raised. The thing has been agitated so much now that it can never be raised in any other way.

S. T.—I'm very glad to hear you say that; glad you recognize that fact. But you must not expect we are going to stop there. When people find out how well it works to make those who get the value of these improvements pay their cost, they are going to want a good many more improvements, and pay for them in the same way. And some fine morning you will wake up and find the people levying all taxes on land values.

M.—Well, that wouldn't do at all. It wouldn't be equitable. Take me, for instance. I own lots of stocks and bonds, especially telephone stock. You see it wouldn't touch me at all. I should get off free. I shouldn't have but little taxes to pay.

S. T.—You wouldn't, eh? Let's see! What's the basis of those stocks and bonds? Isn't it a franchise? And what is a franchise but the exclusive use of certain lands in a certain way? And if you tax that franchise, don't you hit all the stocks and bonds that are based on it? Think that out and see if it won't hit you. Why, we'll tax you fellows right out.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

A NEWSPAPER INVESTIGATION INTO TAXATION METHODS IN WASHINGTON. SMALL REAL ESTATE OWNERS TAXED FOUR TIMES AS MUCH AS LARGE ONES—SOME INTERESTING FACTS AND FIGURES—ACTION OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR—A BIG LAND SPECULATION—THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MINING ENGINEERS AND ALUMINUM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 24. The Washington Critic has within a fortnight come under new management. Its editor, an energetic young journalist, determined to make the Critic a radical and fearless journal, has been making an investigation of the methods of taxing real estate in the District of Columbia, and saying in pretty plain language what he thinks about them. He starts off with this declaration:

The assessed value of taxable real estate in the District of Columbia on June 30, 1889, was \$137,626,419. Upon the basis of an estimate by a late assessor of the District, this sum is just \$137,626,419 less than it should be. In other words, the District treasury has been cheated out of a revenue equal to the assessment upon \$137,626,419, which it should have had and did not get, because the assessment was made upon just one-half the real value of the property instead of upon the "true cash value," as the law directs.

The Critic goes on to explain "the most shameful feature of this fact," namely, that "this money which the treasury was deprived of represents just that many dollars saved to the pockets of the wealthiest and most powerful property owners, and was not a saving to the people at large," that while

"the small land owners, the citizen of moderate means, the artisan, clerk, merchant or laborer, who owns his humble home, had it assessed at nearly its 'true value,' as the law directs," the "great land owner, the speculator, the alien millionaire holding squares of real estate, the resident millionaire owning corner lots worth fabulous sums, did not pay within eighty per cent of the 'true value' of their property." And then come cases in point: The vice president of the United States, Levi P. Morton, paid an assessment of \$107,620 on real estate, "which would find a dozen buyers within an hour at \$450,000." Wormley's hotel property, which was assessed last time at \$79,230, "sold about thirty days ago for \$140,000, and is now on the market, held at \$200,000." "On G street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth, is a business building erected by C. C. Glover. It is a costly structure, with a white stone front. In December, 1888, Colonel Robert L. Fleming bought it for \$70,000. The assessment made some months later was \$20,615 for land and building." "The property now occupied by the Central national bank is assessed upon a valuation of \$58,794. Two years ago it was bought for \$120,000, and \$25,000 worth of improvements put upon it." "Eastward on K street, between Vermont and Fifteenth, is ex-Senator Palmer's palace, assessed at \$61,800. It is on the market for sale at \$125,000." And so the Critic goes on presenting a long list of cases in the city proper, after which it passes to suburban parts and shows that the "same line of demarkation in assessment is visible between the subdivisions controlled by the millionaire syndicates, who hold the land for speculation, and the smaller subdivisions of the middle class people who will erect their little homes." Among many instances, it speaks of "one big tract of land which is in the hands of wealthy syndicates, on Rock creek and the Tennallytown road. It is assessed at from \$80 to \$300 per acre and is selling right along at from \$1,000 to \$3,000 per acre." The Critic then leaves the district where "the property of millionaires is situated," and considers the "zone of mediocrity encircling the heart of the city," where the iron hand of assessment bears down upon the plain people with a weight which "seems tyrannous in comparison with the light burden laid upon their richer neighbors." Here the assessor "sticks on the assessment" to within a small per cent "of the worth of the property, and in many cases beyond it," so that at the last assessment "2,134 citizens claimed an over assessment," and 1,081 succeeded in getting a reduction. The Critic sums up the situation in the words "of late a late assessor of the District," who said: "A property worth \$5,000 is usually assessed at about \$4,000, or within eighty per cent of its true value. A property worth \$100,000 is usually assessed at \$20,000, or twenty per cent of its true value."

Single tax men in Washington have not been slow to seize the opportunity presented through this discussion. The first move toward practical action has been taken by Painters' assembly, L. A. G. of the Knights of Labor. Mr. E. J. Cunningham, ex-master workman, introduced resolutions requesting the house of representatives to "pass resolutions requiring the commissioners of the District to report at as early a date as practicable a schedule of all lands that have been sold or leased in the District since June 30, 1886, stating the date on which each deed was entered for record, the proper designation of each lot named in each deed, with the number of acres or square feet in each lot, the amount paid and the sums for which said lots, with any improvements thereon, now stand assessed for taxation." Mr. T. F. Monahan, of Excelsior assembly, supported this action in a vigorous speech, and the resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote. The other assemblies in the district will immediately take similar action, and as these are said to have 10,000 members, the house of representatives cannot afford to slight their demand.

Only within a fortnight come the details of an operation by a syndicate of rich men, the chief of whom is Mr. F. G. Newlands, representing the Sharon estate of California. This syndicate has purchased a tract of 2,500 acres in that part of the suburbs which Connecticut avenue would run through if it were extended, and paid for it the sum of \$2,000,000. It is the intention to have streets opened, a horse-car line established and some houses erected, to induce population. The syndicate will then sell out at an enormous advance.

A small body of between fifty and one hundred men have been holding meetings in a small hall in the Arlington hotel during the past week and deliberating over matters of most importance to civilization and the human race. They constituted the American institute of mining engineers. Among them

sat our good single tax friend, James E. Mills of California. Of the matters under consideration, perhaps the one of most general interest related to the wonderful metal aluminum. Aside from college professors and mere experimentalists, there were present men whose great interest in the metal is to make it of use to them in their business pursuits. Alfred E. Hunt, president of the Pittsburgh commercial company, which through a new electrical process has greatly reduced the cost of producing the metal, and is prepared to supply it in large quantities, read a paper on "the properties of commercially pure aluminum." Professor Eggleston of Columbia college, gave the result of some experiments he had made, and Prof. Wm. P. Blake and several other scientists made statements as to the properties and uses of the metal. Stripping the subject of technicalities, it appears that aluminum, which is as strong as iron, and the best of it is as strong as steel, is only one-third as heavy as iron. It has a bright silvery color and is susceptible of high polish. It is non-corrodible, is both malleable and ductile to a high degree and is almost as good a conductor of electricity as copper. It readily unites with other metals and as an alloy it reduces the melting point of steel, a very important thing, and frees both iron and steel castings from bubbles or "blows." Silver and copper it hardens. Aluminum's chief use just now is in being mixed with bronze, producing what is known as aluminum-bronze, used in the highest grades of the arts. Among the exhibits of the metal before the institute were rolls of ribbon-like foil, some of it so thin that it could be blown away with a breath. Then there were all sorts of ingots and castings; cups and boxes drawn out of flat pieces; tubs, coils, medallions, pots, saucepans and frying pans. With regard to the latter Professor Eggleston said that while recently making an investigation for the New York board of health he had made some experiments with aluminum cooking utensils and found that they were not attacked by organic acids, thus making impossible that slow but deadly process of lead or other metal poisoning known under that vague and general name of "malaria." As vinegar is an organic acid the danger of using ordinary metal utensils is obvious.

Though present all clay deposits, the difficulty of extracting it has hitherto made aluminum a commercially dear metal. It is not such a long time ago since its price exceeded that of silver, which is \$12 a pound. Discovery after discovery, simplifying the process of production, has steadily brought the price down, until now aluminum is sold for about the same as nickel. There are perhaps a thousand men busy in their laboratories in various parts of the world seeking for some process by which to make the metal cheap and abundant. When they shall have found it, who can calculate the change there will be in the construction of railroads and steamships, the building of houses and bridges, and the making of thousands of things where iron and steel are now used? Take the bicycle, for instance. An average "safety" machine weighs between fifty and fifty-five pounds, and the very lightest machine, thirty pounds. Imagine machines of the same strength that shall weigh but eighteen and ten pounds respectively! But more important than all these, aluminum seems to have brought aerial navigation a long stride nearer, and who shall say how soon in this aluminum-electrical-single-tax age we shall be sailing the air in ships, bidding defiance to protective tariffs, race prejudices, and national ignorances! HENRY GEORGE, JR.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

SLOW WORK IN PARLIAMENT—YOUNG EMPEROR WILLIAM'S STATE SOCIALISM—DAVITT'S LABOR ORGANIZATION.

HYDE, MANCHESTER, England, February 8.—We have reached the period of the year when the parliamentary session should be fairly started, but this year the government for some reason best known to themselves have resolved to begin on February 11. The reason which is generally suspected is that they may have less time in which to do their work, and therefore more occasion for the use of the closure. In truth, we are approaching a most intensely interesting period in English history. The struggle between "the classes" and "the masses" is almost hourly assuming more definite shape. The pity of it is that "the masses" are yet in such a condition of ignorance that it is supremely difficult to get them to comprehend the direction in which their true interest lies. They do not see with anything like distinctness the relation between land and labor. Happily there are in the larger towns, and principally in London, large numbers of men who do see the relation between land and labor, and it is inspiring to observe with what diligence

and faithfulness they carry on the great propaganda. This year we shall have more favorable opportunities than ever before. The land purchase scheme of the government will be strongly and persistently opposed, and will necessarily bring the whole land question under searching discussion.

But in addition to this, the emperor of Germany has taken a step which cannot but result in promoting a still further discussion of the land question. The "Imperial Humburg," as he is styled by one writer, invites the great commercial nations of Europe to endeavor to come to an understanding as to the possibility of complying with the wants and wishes of the laborers as manifested by them during the strikes of the last few years. It may be, and no doubt is, the case that this young emperor is really aiming at the destruction of the influence of the social democrats of Germany. It will be remembered that shortly after the present emperor came to the throne he received a deputation of miners on strike and told them that if they took up with the social democrats he might be forced to shoot them down. After that it became impossible for this insolent ruffian to appear in the public streets of any large English city. If he had ventured into London on the occasion of his visit to the queen he would have been hooted from one end of his journey to the other. Since then Bismarck has failed to carry his bill against the social democrats, and now when a new election is pending Kaiser William comes out with the pompous declaration that he will extend his hand to the workmen and take steps to improve their condition. The emperor's proposals have been received with considerable suspicion.

In Germany the leading journals applaud the emperor, as a matter of course; but the Berlin correspondent of the London Times, writing on February 6, says:

The only journal which maintains complete silence is the Volksblatt, the organ of the social democrats. But this silence is more eloquent than words. Herr Liebknecht and his followers being evidently of opinion that the emperor's words will deal a serious blow to their electoral agitations by convincing the German workman that the government is willing to make a serious attempt to better his condition.

The same writer, writing on the previous day, observes:

It would be invidious to impute any electioneering motives to the imperial author of these two decrees, but their publication shortly before the general election cannot, at least, but have the effect of oil on the troubled waters of social democratic agitation, with the result that the number of socialist votes will now, in all probability, not be anything like so large as it might otherwise have been.

The London Times, commenting upon the emperor's proposals, makes the following significant observations:

If there is to be an international settlement of labor disputes on an equitable basis the primary condition is that no country should be unfairly handicapped, and this would involve the abolition of all protective duties and bounties. Are either the workmen or the employers of the continental states prepared to accept this condition? If they are, we are on the verge, which is scarcely conceivable, of a vast industrial revolution. If they are not, what can be the use of convening an international congress to debate issues which depend for their determination on matters absolutely excluded from the sphere of practical discussion?

The leading conservative organ in England, the Standard, makes a similar reference to the protectionist policy of Germany:

The German emperor's proposal is, in truth, an absolute negation of protection. If he is in earnest there is one, and only one, way by which he can secure that equality of conditions for which he is asking. Let him propose to the nations of the world to adopt free trade. Then, indeed, he will have applied a remedy to the miseries of his people which would have some prospect of proving effectual. Meantime if he desires any proof of the failure of the system of restricted commercial intercourse under which Germany groans, let him consider the admissions implied by his present scheme. It is not many years since the empire inaugurated that complete and uncompromising tariff which was to make the Fatherland a paradise to the worker and to protect his interests from unfair competition. What has been the result? Instead of the promised protection, the laborer finds himself more crushed than ever by the weight of external rivalry, and so far from having become independent of his neighbors it is impossible to lessen the burden of his toil in the very slightest degree unless with the consent of the foreigner. Protection has, in fact, only ended in putting him at the mercy of his rivals.

Perhaps, however, the truer estimate of the emperor's proposals is that of the editor of Reynolds's, who says:

The social democrats in Germany are a great political force, and all their energies are directed to a reform on legislative lines of the condition of labor. If the emperor were sincere in his professions of solicitude for the workmen, he would not desire to crush the organization that has been the means, in a large degree, of bringing their grievances before the reichstag, and of inciting the men to strikes in imitation of their fellows in Eng-

land. As it is, the object of this ruthless young autocrat is quite clear. He hopes, by pretences of sympathy, to withdraw from the social democrats the votes of the workmen who are not in the organization, so that when the reichstag meets he may command a majority that will do his and Prince Bismarck's bidding, and carry the tyrannical measure which was rejected the other day. We have no faith in the schemes of industrial improvement of such men as the kaiser and Bismarck, any more than we have in those of the Dunravens and Churchills of the tory party in this country. These men, and the parties they are allied with, are the natural enemies of the workmen, and must always be treated as such, however plausible their professions. The proposal, too, for an international conference is equally suspicious. It is not likely to be accepted by the governments named, and this the emperor well knows. But in the meantime he hopes to alienate the workmen from the social democrats, and when a subservient house is returned he will then be able to do exactly as he likes; and it may be taken for granted that that will be to crush the men whose power he fears is increasing to an extent that threatens the very existence of the empire and the double-faced young braggart who at present sits on the throne and fancies he governs by divine right.

The Leasehold enfranchisement association has been holding its annual meeting. The only good that this organization can effect is that it promotes discussion. Its object is to do for shopkeepers and others what the land purchase policy of the government is intended to do for Ireland, viz., to increase the number of landlords.

The last week has been a very pleasant one to me. Michael Davitt has been paying a flying visit to Lancashire, and he made my house his home. Davitt is looking very well, and I told him that his fears for his health must be more imaginary than real. He addressed meetings of cotton operatives in the Rossendale valley, Lord Hartington's constituency, and at Hollinwood, a small township near Oldham. Davitt's policy is to get at the actual workers by going to the places where they live. He delivered two very thorough-going speeches, and was intensely delighted with the way in which he was received and with the heartiness with which his advocacy of the single tax was accepted. During his visit a representative of a local liberal paper interviewed him, and I give you the interview, since it explains in brief form Mr. Davitt's present aims and policy. "The Reporter" says:

"I am always glad," he said, "to meet the factory operatives of Lancashire, because I consider myself, in a certain sense, one of them." While visiting Lancashire he also embraced the opportunity of running over to Hyde for the purpose of conferring with his friend on the progress which the labor movement is making all over the country.

In answer to an inquiry as to the objects of the Irish democratic labor federation, with which both host and guest are associated, Mr. Davitt said the first was to consolidate all the various labor organizations in Ireland, and in view of the probable land purchase policy of the government to make it known that all toilers and workers of every description were as deeply interested in the settlement of the land question as the farmers. "Another great object of the federation," said Mr. Davitt, "is to promote solidarity and united action between the industrial masses of Great Britain and Ireland; and this because the common enemy of all, both Englishmen and Irishmen, is the same—landlordism." "The industrial classes of England," he observed, "may not see as clearly as the Irish masses do how real and terrible the burden of landlordism is, but if the Irish people see it more clearly and feel it more acutely than the English workers, one great reason is because there are not in Ireland large manufacturing industries as in England to serve as buffers to conceal the truth as it exists."

"Are the prospects of the federation at all bright?" "Well," he said, "I rejoice to think that the English working classes are at last rapidly becoming alive to the fact that landlordism is a terrible burden upon industry and commerce, and are observing clearly that it would be out of the hard earnings of the toiling millions that compensation to Irish landlords will have to be paid."

A slight reference to the opening of parliament led Mr. Davitt to say: "I think the approaching session may possibly be stormy, and believe that the tories will undoubtedly make tremendous efforts to carry through their land purchase scheme, because the Irish landlords are at the last ditch." "I hope, however," he remarked, "that by strenuous exertion on the part of the English workingmen, this gigantic act of robbery—the buying out of Irish landlords at a big figure—may be frustrated."

"Whatever was done in parliament," he observed, "of course the ultimate appeal was to the next general election, and he earnestly hoped that then the workingmen, especially those of Lancashire and Cheshire, would awaken to a true comprehension of what this system of class legislation meant, and of the issue involved in the present struggle. If they did so they would return men, not only resolved to do justice to Ireland, but men who were thoroughly competent to legislate intelligently upon the condition of the English workingmen, for," he added, "the cause of the workers of Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales is one; anything which affects one, affects the other."

Upon questions calling for consideration, he classed those of the housing of the working classes, the mining royalties, taxation of land values and such like, all of which bore directly upon the condition of the toilers. His endeavor was to get men to study these questions, having confidence that if they did

so the next election would give a majority favorable to the establishment in Ireland of a national assembly, empowered to deal exclusively with Irish affairs, and also the establishment in England of a parliament which would deal effectually, and not in any tory sham fashion, with the great social problems of the age, to secure for the worker a fairer share of the wealth he produces.

Mr. Davitt, in taking leave of our representative, said he must congratulate the neighborhood upon the circumstance that his old friend, Mr. Rylett, had settled here. "We have," he said, "been intimately associated for ten years in the labor movement both in England and Ireland, and I am quite certain from my own experience that the working people of this district will find in Mr. Rylett a very warm friend indeed."

It was ridiculous to be followed about in Manchester by a detective, as we were. The official traveled in the same carriage with us backward and forward, and followed the cab to my house. The theory of the government is that Mr. Davitt is reorganizing the Fenian movement. HAROLD RYLETT.

OUR PARIS LETTER.

M. ALBERT TOUBEAU'S DEATH—A DISTINGUISHED FRENCH ECONOMIST, WHO GLADLY WELCOMED THE SINGLE TAX.

PARIS, Feb. 7.—The house of M. Albert Toubreau, No. 83 Rue de la Pompe, was draped in black yesterday. It made my eyes dim as I came up to it, and thought of the happy, hopeful meetings the little band of single taxites used to hold there just after last June's conference. I went softly and sadly up to the little drawing room where he had often met us all so heartily. It was little changed, save that the spirit had flown. His small black table where he used to write was just as he left it. Some STANDARDS were on it and a few single tax tracts.

Then I passed into the dining room where Henry George had met and talked with some of the hopeful souls of Paris, as they all enjoyed M. Toubreau's hospitality. The room was very dark and solemn. There I found the broken hearted widow, and from her learned for the first time of the suddenness of the calling away. She had left M. Toubreau Monday evening, the 3d, to go out on a brief errand. When she returned and spoke to him he made no answer, though setting lifeline in his chair. He had passed away, evidently without pain, the doctors said, from enlargement of the heart. Before him under his nerveless hand lay a copy of THE STANDARD he had been reading.

The funeral was yesterday. It was very simple, so much like the man's life. Nearly all the Parisians who had met each other through the land conference gathered about the flower covered coffin. M. Eugene Simon, a life long friend, was quite overcome with grief. As I entered the great gate of the cemetery Pere La Chaise, I remembered my last visit there in the summer with Mr. W. E. Hicks, another single tax friend. I little thought then that I would return so soon, and for such a purpose.

At the grave there was simply the oration of a friend, M. Vossion—a few words on the lovely life of the dead, and his great wisdom in not having mixed in the barren battles of politics, closing with the tear-laden assurance borne in upon the sorrowing hearts that the land ideas with which the sleeper had died would ere long bless the world. We then went, one by one, to the gaping tomb, and threw a red everlasting on the coffin.

M. Toubreau personally was one of the most entertaining of men. Fifty years of life, deep reading and sympathetic observation had given to his conversation a sincerity and warmth that touched all he met. His life had been a long search for the light. Let us believe he had found it as he thought he had a few days ago, when he said to me: "Ah! if I achieve no other good for humanity before my death, I can at least feel that I have found the light."

Years ago when a student at Bruges, Belgium, he was told of the horrors of the existing pauperism and the happy state to which society could be led. "It could be a paradise here below!" he cried, stopping in the street. From that time he did not cease busying himself with the good of humanity. He first adopted the ideas of Collins, the Belgian economist, and at once set about finding the best way of taxing nations. He devoted twenty years of his life to this problem. He soon drew away from Collins's ideas on capital and the functions of government. He found at last an answer to his question and a remedy for the whole social ills—the resumption of land by people living on it by means of a tax on land owners. He published his idea to the world in his book, "L'Impot Metrique" about the time "Progress and Poverty" was born in San Francisco.

He upheld his point by arguments quite different from those held now by single taxites. He left in the background entirely

the theory of rent, and consequently adopted quite another mode of assessing his land tax, his "unitaxe," to use the new French word he so happily coined.

After seeing Henry George in Paris M. Toubeau yielded completely to the views of the American leader. Only a few weeks ago he was telling me that in his future explanations of the single tax he would lay aside his old-time arguments and would present the idea not as his, but as Henry George's. For the good of the cause he forgot all, even the tenacious fondness of authors for their own productions. From this single trait of his character I hope our American friends can sympathize with us in our loss of this noble soul.

CHARLES MARIE GARNIER.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

St. Joseph, Mo.—(1) Please explain what you mean by economic rent. (2) Does the value of imports as given in the census include the duty? JOHN C. BENDER.

(1) The economic rent of particular land is the difference in value between what can be produced with a given application of labor to that land and what can be produced with the same application to the best land to be had for nothing. The best land to be had for nothing is said to lie at the "margin of cultivation." Less desirable land lies below the "margin of cultivation," and more desirable land lies above it. Land at and below the "margin of cultivation" bears no rent. No matter how useful it may be, no one will pay anything for it, because there is other land just as good to be had for nothing. But land above the margin will command rent, because it is all appropriated and is more desirable than the best land which is not appropriated. The more desirable the appropriated land is the higher its rent will be.

You will find some difficulty in clearly understanding this, because there is hardly any community in which any land can be had for nothing. The reason is that the prospective value of all land in any civilized country is such as to make it profitable to appropriate land and without using it to hold it for a rise of value. If no land were appropriated except for use there would be great quantities of useful land in every community which would be freely open to the first comer. Then no land would bear rent unless it was more desirable than this free land; and when more desirable its rent would be higher or lower, according as it was more or less desirable. As it is, with all land appropriated, the economic rent of superior land is determined rather by its superiority over the cheapest land in use than by its superiority over the best land to be had for nothing.

Economic rent is expressed in selling price, as well as in annual returns. This is especially so in the United States. The selling price of land is a capitalization of its renting price. Land worth so much a year, for example, will be worth so many times that sum on a purchase.

You must also observe that economic rent is not merely what is actually produced from the land, but what it is ordinarily possible to produce from it. The economic rent of a city lot is not measured by the value of the corn that might be raised upon it, but by the value of the building to which it is adapted. The rent of land which is put to its best use is rent *actual*; the rent of land which is not used at all, and which is commonly expressed in a purchase price, is rent *potential*.

(2) No.

Here are the proposed subjects of inquiry at the coming Swiss labor conference: Propriety and scope of laws restricting Sunday work; age limit for child labor in factories; length of working day for persons under full age; the propriety of counting time of compulsory attendance at school as part of the working day; graduation of children's work according to age, and question in what hours in the day such labor shall be performed; employment of women and children in dangerous or unwholesome occupations, and by night; the manner of putting into effect and enforcing labor regulations; periodical labor conferences.

The Travellers' exchange, at 30 Union square, will suspend business because the trunk lines refuse to establish in the exchange a joint ticket office.

A colony of twenty-six nationalists is trying the Bellamy idea in Nehalem valley, Oregon. Thomas Cotter, one of the colonists, thus describes this little wooden heaven: "As all are paid the same out of the common store, we have neither rich nor poor among us. One cannot sail under false colors, for we know what each one's income is. Besides that there is no inducement to be fastidious. Everything needed except clothing and fine groceries we produce. Just picture a settle-

ment with no saloons, no drunkards, no churches, no religious cranks, and you can get a good idea of the colony. Every one worships in his own way. Inasmuch as we have separated from the outside world and accumulated property valued at \$150,000, we can't let any one come in without contributing to the common stock something equal to \$500. One-half of this can be paid in labor. We exclude everything savoring of anarchy and individualism, and hope to see the day when universal humanity will not be an ideal, but the real condition of society."

The people of New London, Conn., will shortly have before their eyes an object lesson showing the beauties of land monopoly. The mind of man runneth not back to the time when Fisher's island was not free for such New Londoners as chose to, to roam over, to hunt on or to fish from it; and the farmers around New London all used to go there for their seaweed and kelp when their lands wanted fertilizing. A wealthy family of Pittsburg, Pa., named Ferguson, have bought Fisher's island, and they are going to lay it out in a big game preserve, after the English style. It will be stocked with all sorts of game, and will be devoted to the pleasure of the Fergusons and their friends. The New Londoners and farmers adjacent thereto will be warring against trespassing, and must, if they wish to roam, hunt or fish, or take seaweed or kelp, go somewhere else.

Again the labor organizations of this state are asking the legislature to enact a law to prevent convict labor from competing with their labor; and it is said that a senator will shortly introduce a bill to accomplish the desired end. There is such a law on the statute books; but, somehow or other, convict labor is being let out on contract, all the same. And so it will be when the new law is adopted. Meantime the number of convicts in our prisons increases year by year, and the pauper list in our communities increases also. Legislation of this character will not bring the relief that the workingmen seek; and many of them are beginning to realize it.

Evidently our government does not intend that the people shall get more than they pay for. The "Mail Pouch" tobacco company's factory of Wheeling, W. Va., was seized the other day because they put four and a half ounces of tobacco into what they advertised as their "four-ounce packages." This brand of smoking tobacco has become very popular among working people throughout the United States, perhaps on account of its overweight; but hereafter, if a wise and paternal protective government can prevent it, none of our American laborer smokers will be "forced" to take an extra half ounce of tobacco in their four-ounce packages.

Grand Rapids, Mich.—A has a farm for which he paid \$5,000. Under the single tax system, its selling value would be nothing. Suppose he wanted to sell out and go into some mercantile business, wouldn't he be a loser?

MEL. S. HEKING.

In the \$5,000, it is assumed that you include improvements. If you do, the value of the improvements would exchange for any kind of product more freely than now, and so far from being a loser, the farmer would be a gainer. The real question, however, is not what the farm is worth, but what the mere land of the farm is worth. The land of a farm worth \$5,000 is not likely to be worth more than \$1,000. The single tax, if ideally perfect, would annihilate that value, but it would free the remaining \$4,000 from all taxes. If, then, the farmer wanted to go into the mercantile business, he could trade his \$4,000 worth of farm for \$4,000 worth of storehouse and goods. He, of course, could not trade his \$1,000 of land value for any product of labor. But he could trade it for other land. Hence, with his \$4,000 of improvement value, he could buy a \$4,000 store and the site of the store would go to him for nothing, just as the site of his farm would go to the storekeeper for nothing. How would he be a loser under such conditions?

Bishop Fink of the Roman Catholic diocese of Leavenworth, Kan., has issued a Lenten pastoral letter, in which, in referring to the Farmers' alliance movement, which came into existence as a result of the agricultural depression, he says: "We may say that, surrounded by a bountiful crop, as we are, many of our people are suffering and are in misery, uncertain what they should do in the future. The complaints come not only from the laboring classes in cities who are without work, but especially from the country districts, from the farming population which feels that matters cannot be as they are for an indefinite number of years or they would lose their house and home. Thoughtful persons are well aware that the present grievances of the farmers are but too true. It

seems that almost every industry in our country is protected in order to amass riches in the hands of the few, by which the many will have to suffer. The only classes not protected are those that would seem to need it most—the laboring men and the farming population." So. Here at last is an ecclesiastic who points out, indirectly, that people are suffering because of the monopoly of land; and, directly, that protection does not protect the farmers or laborers.

Postmaster General Wanamaker the other day threw off the cares of office long enough to visit the shums of Philadelphia, where he held a meeting, and lectured to the denizens on "The water of life." He must have affected his audience deeply, for the papers say that at the close of his speech "doses of bromide had to be administered to two of the drunkards." He evidently tried to satisfy their spiritual wants with water and their physical wants with wind.

Senator Roesch said last week, in the senate chamber, that "organized labor was opposed to the Saxton ballot bill," thus showing himself to be, in view of the facts, as regardless of the truth now as he was when he came before the Manhattan single tax club, two years ago, and pledged himself by all that was good and holy to vote for the Saxton bill, "first, last and all the time," if the Manhattan club would support him in his canvass for the assembly. The club agreed and did support him, and he was elected. When Governor Hill vetoed the bill, Roesch voted to sustain the veto. He thus violated his ante-election pledge. Had he run for the assembly in the campaign of 1888, instead of senator, he would have been left at home. Roesch is endeavoring now, by advocating bills, presumably "in the interests of organized labor," to rehabilitate himself with the people whom he deceived in 1888; but he will fail. Even those he calls "workingmen" will not trust a him.

The Binghamton, N. Y., Leader is a democratic paper, ably edited, and of Hill proclivities. Therefore it is opposed to the Saxton ballot bill with all its might, every day or two denouncing it as a republican measure. John H. Blakeney is an estimable citizen of Binghamton, and a steady reader of the Leader. Mr. Blakeney is disturbed in his mind. He sees that the Leader and its leader, both presumably advocates of democratic principles, are opposed to the ideas incorporated in the Saxton bill, while the governor of Ohio, a democrat, recommends to the legislature of that state the adoption of an election system substantially the same as the Saxton bill. Now, what Mr. Blakeney wants to know of the Leader is, if an Ohio ballot bill, prepared by democrats on the line recommended by a democratic governor, happens to be the same as the Saxton bill, will the leader call that bill a republican measure? The Leader answers candidly, "We give it up."

The Chicago News has lately been printing stories of want and destitution in North and South Dakota that have attracted great attention and created astonishment that such a state of affairs should exist in a newly settled section of the United States. Scores of letters have been received by the News regarding the matter, some speaking sympathetically and others protesting against spreading such information over the country. Senator F. R. Pettigrew of Sioux Falls is one of the protestants, claiming that such reports of Dakota suffering would "hurt the state." A. H. Strong, engineer of Mercy hospital, Chicago, wrote, concerning the senator's letter, that he thought an error had been made in it; that the senator did not mean the reports would hurt his "state," but that it would hurt his "real estate." Probably that was what the senator had in his mind when he wrote "state."

Mrs. Hetty Green of Wall street is the possessor of \$50,000,000. She has come to the conclusion, in view of the recent bank failures and the fluctuations in Wall street, that the only safe investment is in land.

A company has been formed in Washington, D. C., that will shortly commence the publication of a monthly journal, to be called the True Commonwealth. Its prospectus says that it will demand the repeal of all monopolistic and class legislation; will advocate the nationalization of railways, telegraphs and all other great national enterprises that are essentially and necessarily monopolies, and the municipal ownership by cities of water works, gas works, street railways, etc.

Philadelphia's powerful street railway syndicate, which owns large street railway systems in Philadelphia, Chicago, New York and other cities, has just obtained control of

the Essex passenger and the Newark and Irvington street railway companies of Newark, N. J., and will soon assume the direction of the affairs of those companies. What the syndicate paid for its purchase is not known. Another syndicate has been trying to get control of the Essex passenger railway company, and is said to have offered \$4,000,000.

FEDERATION OF LABOR.

THE BOSTON MEETING SLIMLY ATTENDED AND ITS TIME OCCUPIED WITH SYMPTOMS AND NOT CAUSES.

The American federation of labor has just issued a pamphlet containing a full report of the proceedings of its ninth convention, held at Boston from last December 10 to 14, inclusive.

The secretary reported seventy-four delegates present, representing 600,000 members in good standing—though on the most important vote of the session, only sixty votes were cast. Thirteen of the delegates were from New York city, eighteen from Massachusetts and eleven from Pennsylvania—a total of forty-two—leaving thirty-two, or eighteen according to the vote taken, to represent the remainder of this country. The first day was taken up in listening to addresses by Governor Ames, Mayor Hart, Chairman Gompers and others; appointing a committee on credentials, and taking a carriage ride at the expense of the city of Boston. One delegate, Mr. Lemon of New York, in view of the fact it was election day, and that the voting was being done under the Australian system for the first time in Massachusetts, and thinking perhaps that the delegates would gain knowledge concerning it that would be of use to them when they returned to their homes, moved that the convention adjourn to the polling places to witness the practical workings of the scheme. The invitation for the carriage ride having been already accepted, the motion was withdrawn. In the evening the delegates attended a banquet, also paid for by the city of Boston.

At the roll call next day twenty-five delegates were missing. President Gompers read his annual report, which was referred to a committee. After proclaiming the mission of the federation to be "to protect the innocent and young, to raise men and women from the sloughs of poverty and despair," the report went on to speak of the differences between the federation and the K. of L. Regarding the eight-hour movement, the report said that it is progressing; that a large number of meetings in favor of it have been held; that "three of the ablest economic thinkers" had each written a pamphlet on the various phases of the question—George McNeill, George Guntton, the advocate of protection, who has spoken so often in this city during the last few years, and one Lemuel Dauryid. Sixty thousand of these pamphlets had been circulated among the members of the federation—an average of one pamphlet for each ten members. The report recommended that one or two trades endeavor to secure the eight-hour work day on May 1, and that mass meetings be continued; that more labor legislation be asked for; that alien contract labor and Chinese be kept out of this country, etc., etc. The balance of the day was consumed in listening to addresses and reading resolutions. The roll call of the third day showed that seventeen of the absentees of the day before had returned to duty. The committee on president's address reported favoring all the recommendations, and Secretary Maguire's report was read, and after reference was approved.

The feature of the fourth day was the reading of the special report on the eight hour question, which recommended the adoption of the suggestions of the president. On the fifth day the salary of the president of the federation was increased from \$1,200 to \$1,500 a year, and the salary of the secretary was put at \$1,200; then Samuel Gompers was re-elected president, P. J. McGuire was elected vice-president and Chris. Evans secretary. An "address to the working people of America" was adopted, the burden of which was that the Knights of Labor had encroached on the territory of the federation, and that if any trouble resulted, "the cause must be looked for in other directions than that of the federation." The city of Boston got a vote of thanks for the carriage ride, banquet and the use of the council chamber. Detroit was selected as the next meeting place, and December 8, 1890, chosen as the time; a secret session was held on "labels and boycotts," and then the convention adjourned *sin die*.

POVERTY DOESN'T; THAT'S SURE.

Wealth does not bring happiness—nor poverty either.

GEORGE AT SAN FRANCISCO.

HIS SPEECH TO OLD FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS—INTERESTING REMINISCENCES—A CLEAR EXPOSITION OF THE SINGLE TAX THEORY.

In the last issue of THE STANDARD we gave a full report of Mr. George's reception at San Francisco, but could not make room for his speech. It was as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Fellow Citizens: As I rise on this stage the past comes back to me. Thirteen years ago—it seems so far and yet so near—thirteen years ago, when I was half of speech, when to face an audience, it seemed to me, required as much courage as it would to face a battery—I stood on this platform to speak my first word in the cause for which I stand now. I stood on this platform to see, instead of the audience that greets me to-night, a beggarly array of empty benches. It is a long time. Many times, in this country and in the dear old world, I have stood before far greater audiences than this; I have been greeted by thousands who never saw me before, as they would greet a friend long known and well loved; but I don't think it ever gave me such pleasure to stand before an audience as it does here to-night. (Applause.) For years and years I have been promising myself to come back to San Francisco. I have crossed the Atlantic five times before I could fulfill that desire. I am here now to go in a few days to the antipodes; perhaps I may never return—who knows? If I live I shall try to. But San Francisco, though I never again can be a citizen of California—though my path in life seems away so far that California seems but a ridge on the horizon—my heart has always turned, and always will turn, to the home of my youth, to the city in which I grew up, to the city in which I have found so many warm friends—to the country in which I married, and in which my children were born. Always it will seem to me home; and it is sweet to the man long absent to be welcomed home. (Applause.) Aye, and you men, old friends tried and true—you men who rallied in the early times to our movement, when we could count each other almost upon one's fingers—I come back to you to say that at last our triumph is but a matter of time. (Applause.) To say that never in the history of thought has a movement come forward so fast and so well.

Ten years ago when I left, I was anything but hopeful; ten years ago I would not have dared to say that in any time to which I might live, we should see the beginning of this great struggle. Nor have I cared. My part (and I think I can speak for every man who is enlisted in this movement)—my part has never been to predict results. Our feeling is the feeling of the great stoic emperor, "that is the business of Jupiter; not ours." Ours to do the work as we may; ours to plant the seed which is to give the results. But now, so well forward is this cause, so many strong advocates has it in every land, so far has it won its way, that now it makes no difference who lives or who dies, who goes forward or who hangs back. Now the currents of the time are setting in our favor. At last—at last we can say with certainty that it will only be a little while before all over the English speaking world, and then, not long after, over the rest of the civilized world, the great truth will be acknowledged that no human child comes into this world without coming into his equal right to all.

I am talking to-night to my friends; I am talking to-night to those who are as earnest and well informed in this cause as I am; but I am also probably talking to many who have but vague ideas concerning it. Let me, since I am in San Francisco, speak of the genesis of my own thought. I came out here at an early age, and knew nothing whatever of political economy. I had never thought upon any social problem. The first time I ever recollect talking on such a subject was one day, when I was about eighteen, after I had first come to this country, sitting on the deck of a topsail schooner with a lot of miners on the way to the Frazer river; and we got talking about the Chinese, and I ventured to say—ventured to ask what harm the Chinese were doing here, if, as these miners said, they were only working the cheap diggings! And one old miner turned to me, and said, "No harm now; but it will not be always that wages are as high as they are to-day in California. As the country grows, as people come in, wages will go down, and some day or other white men will be glad to get these diggings that the Chinamen are now working." And I will remember how it impressed me, the idea that as the country grew in all that we are hoping that it might grow, the condition of those who had to work for their living must grow, not better, but worse. And I remember, after having come down from the country, sitting one Christmas eve in the gallery of the old American theater—among the gods (laughter and applause), when a new drop curtain fell, and we all sprang to our feet, for on that curtain was painted what was then a dream of the far future, the overland train coming into San Francisco; and after we had shouted ourselves hoarse, I began to think what good is it going to be to men like me? those who have nothing but their labor? I saw that thought grow and grow; we were all—all of us, rich and poor—hoping for the development of California, proud of her future greatness, looking forward to the time when San Francisco was to

be one of the great capitals of the world; looking forward to the time when this great empire of the west was to count her population by millions, and underneath it all came to me that that miner told. What about the masses of the people!

When, after growing up here, I went across the continent, before the continental railway was completed, and in the streets of New York for the first time realized the contrasts of wealth and want that are to be found in a great city; saw those sights that, to the man who comes from the west, affright and appall, the problem grew upon me. I said to myself there must be some reason for this; there must be some remedy for this, and I will not rest until I have found the one and discovered the other. (Applause.) At last it came clear as the stars of a bright midnight. I saw what was the cause; I saw what was the cure. I saw nothing that was new. Truth is never new.

When I lectured for the first time in Oxford, a professor of political economy in that great university met and opposed me, and he said, "I have read Mr. George's book from one end to the other; what I have to say is this: there is nothing in it both new and true; what is true is not new, and what is new is not true." I answered him, I accept your statement; it is a correct criticism; social truth never is, never can be new; and the truth for which we stand is an old truth; a truth seen by men everywhere, recognized by the first perceptions of all men; only overclouded, only obscured in our modern times by force and fraud. (Applause.) So it is. I notice that one of our papers gives to me the character of an apostle and speaks of my comrades as my disciples. (Laughter.) It is not so. I have done no more to any man than point out God's stars. They were there for him to see. Millions and millions of years have seen them precisely as I saw them; every man may see them who will look.

When I first went to Ireland I got a note from the most venerable of the Irish bishops, Dr. Dougan, bishop of Waterford, asking me to come and have a private talk with him. I went, and the old man—white haired, ruddy checked, like Willie's son—the man who under the mitre of the bishop still keeps the fresh true heart of the Irish peasant—commenced, with the privilege of age, catechizing me. He said: "What is this new doctrine that your name is associated with? You say that all men have equal rights to land; but all men can't use land; how do you propose to divide up?" And then he went on from one question to another, bringing all the staff arguments, all the objections that spring up in the minds of men, just as they probably sprung up in the minds of many who are here—just as they spring up in the mind of any man—all the objections that are so current; and I answered them all. Finally rising, without saying anything, the old man stretched out his hand. "God bless you, my son (applause); I have asked you to come here and answer my questions, because I wanted to see if you could defend your faith. Go on. Go on. What you say to me is nothing new; it is the old truth that through persecution and against force, though trodden down, our people have always held. What you say is not new to me. When a little boy, sitting by the peat fire in the west of Ireland, I have heard the same truths from the lips of men who could not speak a word of English. (Go on; the time has come; I, an old man, tell you that there is no earthly power that can stop this movement." (Applause.) And the years have shown that the venerable bishop was right.

What is the cause of this dark shadow that seems to accompany modern civilization—of this existence of bitter want in the very centers of life—of the failure of all our modern advances—of all the wonderful discoveries and inventions that have made this wonderful nineteenth century, now drawing to a close, so prominent among all the centuries? What is the reason, that as we add to productive power—that is, invention after invention—multiplying by the hundred-fold and the thousand-fold the power of human hands to supply human wants? That all over the civilized world, and especially in this great country, that pauperism is increasing, and insanity is increasing, and criminality is increasing; that marriages are decreasing; that the struggle for existence seems not less, but more and more intense—what is the reason? There must be but one of two answers. Either it is in accordance with the will of God, either it is the result of natural law, or it is because of our ignorance and selfishness of our faith that we evade the natural law. We point to the one sufficient cause, wherever these phenomena are to be seen there, that the natural element on which and from which all men must live, if they are to live at all, is the property, not of the whole people, but of the few. We point to the adequate cure: the restoration to all men of their natural rights in the soil—the assurance to every child, as it comes into the world, of the enjoyment of its natural heritage—the right to live, the right to work, the right to enjoy the fruits of its work; rights necessarily conditioned upon the equal right to that element which is the basis of production; that element which is indispensable to human life; that element which is the standing place, the storehouse, the reservoir of men; that element from which all that is physical in man is drawn. For our bodies, themselves, they come from the land, and to the land

they return again; we, ourselves, are as much children of the soil as are the flowers or the trees. (Applause.)

We call ourselves to-day single tax men. It is only recently, within a few years, that we have adopted that title. It is not a new title; over a hundred years ago there arose in France a school of philosophers and patriots—Quesnay, Turgot, Condorcet, Dupont—the most illustrious men of their time, who advocated, as the cure for all social ills, the *impôt unique*, the single tax.

We here, on this western continent, as the nineteenth century draws to a close, have revived the same name, and we find enormous advantages in it.

We used to be confronted constantly by the question: "Well, after you have divided the land up, how do you propose to keep it divided?" We don't meet that question now. The single tax has, at least, this great merit: it suggests our method; it shows the way we would travel—the simple way of abolishing all taxes, save one tax upon land values. Now mark, one tax upon land values. We do not propose a tax upon land, as people who misapprehend us constantly say. We do not propose a tax upon land; we propose a tax upon land values, or what in the terminology of political economy is termed rent; that is to say, the value which attaches to land irrespective of any improvements in or on it; that value which attaches to land, not by reason of anything that the user or improver of land does—not by reason of any individual exertion of labor, but by reason of the growth and improvement of the community. A tax that will take up what John Stuart Mill called the unearned increment; that is to say, that increment of wealth which comes to the owner of land, not as a user; that comes whether he be a resident or an absentee; whether he be engaged in the active business of life; whether he be an idiot and whether he be a child; that growth of value that we have seen in our own times so astonishingly great in this city; that has made sand lots, lying in the same condition that they were thousands of years ago, worth enormous sums, without any one putting any exertion of labor or any expenditure of capital upon them. Now, the distinction between a tax on land and a tax on land values may at first seem an idle one, but it is a most important one. A tax on land—that is to say, a tax upon all land—would ultimately become a condition to the use of land; would therefore fall upon labor, would increase prices, and be borne by the general community. But a tax on land values cannot fall on all land, because all land is not of value; it can only fall on valuable land, and on valuable land in proportion to its value; therefore, it can no more become a tax on labor than can a tax upon income or a tax upon the value of special privileges of any kind. It can merely take from the individual, not the earnings of the individual, but that premium which, as society grows and improves, attaches to the use of land of superior quality.

Now see, take it in its lowest aspect—take it as a mere fiscal change, and see how in accord with every dictate of expediency, with every principle of justice, is the single tax. We have invented and invented, improved and improved, yet the great fact is, that to-day we have not wealth enough. There are in the United States some few men richer than it is wholesome for men to be. (Applause.) But the great masses of our people are not rich as civilized Americans at the close of the nineteenth century ought to be. (Applause.) The great mass of our people only manage by hard work to live. The great mass of our people don't get the comforts, the refinements, the luxuries that in the present age of the world every one ought to have. All over this country there is a fierce struggle for existence. Only as I came to the door of this building, a beggar struck me on the street—a young man; he said he could not find work. I don't know, perhaps he lied. I do know that when a man once commences upon that course that there is rapid demoralization. I do know that indiscriminate charity is apt to injure far more than it can help; yet I gave him something (applause) for I did know that his story might not be true.

This is the shore of the Pacific. This is the Golden Gate. The westward march of our race is terminated by the ocean, which has the ancient east on its further shore; no further can we go. And yet here, in this new country, in this golden state, there are men ready to work, anxious to work, and yet who, for longer or shorter periods, cannot get the opportunity to work. (Applause.) The further east you go, the worse it grows. To the man from San Francisco, who has never realized it before, there are sights in New York that are appalling. Cross the ocean to the greater city—the metropolis of the civilized world—and there poverty is deeper and darker yet. What is the reason? If there were more wealth wanted, why don't they get more. We cannot cure this evil of poverty by dividing up wealth, monstrous as are some of the fortunes that have arisen, and fortunes are concentrating in this country faster than ever before in the history of the world. But divide them and still there would not be enough. But if men want more wealth, why don't they get more wealth? If we, as people, want more wealth (and certainly ninety-nine out of every hundred Americans do want more wealth), (applause) why are some

suffering for the opportunities of employment? Others are at work without making a living. But ninety-nine out of a hundred have some legitimate desire that they would like to gratify. Well, in the first place, if we want more wealth—if we call that country prosperous which is increasing in wealth—is it not a piece of stupidity that we should tax men for producing wealth. (Applause.)

Yet that is what we are doing to-day. Bring almost any article of wealth to this country from a foreign country, and your are confronted at once with a tax. Is it not from a common sense standpoint a stupid thing, if we want more wealth—if the prosperous country is the country that increases in wealth, why in heaven's name should we put up a barrier against the men who want to bring wealth into this country. (Applause.) We want more dry goods (if you don't know, your wives surely will tell you). We want more clothing; more sugar; more of all sorts of the good things that are called "goods;" and yet by this system of taxation we virtually put up a high fence around the country to keep out these very things. We tax that covenant man who brings any goods into the country.

If wealth be a good thing; if the country be a prosperous country—that is, increasing in wealth—well surely, if we propose to restrict trade at all, the wise thing would be to put the taxes on the men who are taking goods out of the country, not upon those who are bringing goods into the country. We single tax men would sweep away all those barriers. (Applause.) We would try to keep out smallpox and cholera and vermin and plagues. But we would welcome all the goods that anybody wanted to send us, that anybody wanted to bring home. We say it is stupid, if we want more wealth, to prevent people from bringing wealth to the country. We say, also, that it is just as stupid to tax the men who produce wealth within the country. (Applause.)

Here we say we want more manufactures. The American people submit to enormous taxes for the purpose of building up factories; yet when a man builds a factory, what do we do? Why we come down and tax him for it. We certainly want more houses. There are a few people who have bigger houses than any one reasonable family can occupy; but the great mass of the American people are underhoused. There, in the city of New York, the plight to which all American cities are tending, you will find that sixty-five per cent of the population are living two families or more to the single floor. Yet let a man put up a house in any part of the United States, and down comes the tax gatherer to demand a fine for having put up a house.

We say that industry is a good thing, and that thrift is a good thing; and there are some people who say that if a man be industrious, and if a man be thrifty, he can easily accumulate wealth. Whether that be true or not, industry is certainly a good thing, and thrift is certainly a good thing. But what do we do if a man be industrious? If he produces wealth enough and by thrift accumulates wealth at all, down comes the tax gatherer to demand a part of it. (Applause.) We say that that is stupid; that we ought not by our taxes to repress the production of wealth; that when a farmer reclaims a strip of the desert and turns it into an orchard and a vineyard, or on the prairie produces crops and feeds fine cattle, that, so far from being taxed and fined for having done these things, that we ought to be glad that he has done it; that we ought to welcome all energy; that no man can produce wealth for himself without augmenting the general stock, without making the whole country richer.

We impose some taxes for the purpose of getting rid of things, for the purpose of having fewer of the things that we tax. In most of our counties and states when dogs become too numerous, there is imposed a dog tax to get rid of dogs. Well, we impose a dog tax to get rid of dogs, and why should we impose a house tax unless we want to get rid of houses. (Applause.) Why should we impose a farm tax unless we want fewer farms? Why should we tax any man for having exerted industry or energy in the production of wealth? Tax houses and there will certainly be fewer houses.

If you go east to the city of Brooklyn, you may see that demonstrated to the eye. What first surprised me in the city of churches, was to see long rows of buildings of brown stone houses, two stories in front and three stories behind; or three stories in front and four stories behind; and I thought for a moment what foolish idea ever entered the brains of those men, to have left out half an upper story in that way! I found out by inquiring, that it was all on account of the tax. (Laughter and applause.) In the city of Brooklyn, the assessor is only supposed to look in front (laughter), and so by making the house in that way, you can get a three story building behind with only a two story front. So in England, in the old houses, there you may see the result of the window tax. The window tax is in force in France to-day, and in France there are two hundred thousand houses, according to the census, that have no window at all in order to escape the tax. (Laughter.)

So if you tax ships there will be fewer ships. What old San Franciscan cannot remember the day, when in this harbor might be seen

the graceful forms and lofty spars of so many American ships, the fleetest and best in the world. (Applause.) I well remember the day, that no American who crossed to Europe, thought of crossing on any other than an American ship. To-day—to-day, if you wish to cross the Atlantic, you must cross on a British steamer, unless you choose to cross on a German or French steamer. On the high seas of the world, the American ship is becoming almost as rare as a Chinese junk. Why? Simply because we have taxed our ships out of existence. (Applause.) There is the proof. Tax buildings, and you will have fewer or poorer buildings; tax farms and you will have fewer farms and more wilderness; tax ships, there will be fewer and poorer ships; and tax capital, and there will be less capital; but you may tax land values all you please and there will not be a square inch the less land. (Great applause.) Tax land values all you please up to the point of taking the full annual value—up to the point of making mere ownership in land utterly unprofitable, so that no one will want merely to own land—what will be the result? Simply that land will be the easier had by the user. (Applause.) Simply that the land will become valueless to the mere speculator—to the dog in the manger, who wants merely to hold and not to use; to the forestaller, who wants merely to reap where others have sown, to gather to himself the products of labor, without doing labor. Tax land values and you leave to production its full rewards, and you open to producers natural opportunities.

Take it from any aspect you please, take it on its political side (and surely that is a side that we ought to consider clearly and plainly), while we boast of our democratic republicanism, democratic republicanism is passing away. I need not say that to you, men of San Francisco—San Francisco ruled by a boss, (great applause); to you men of California, where you send to the senate the citizen who dominates the state as no duke could rule. (Applause.) Look at the corruption that is tearing the heart out of our institutions; where does it come from? Whence this demoralization? Largely from our system of taxation. What does our present system of taxation do? Why, it is a tax upon conscience, a tax upon truth; a tax upon respect to law; it offers a premium for lying and perjury and evasion; it fosters and stimulates bribery and corruption. (Applause.)

Go over to Europe; travel around for awhile among the effete monarchies of the old world, and what you see will make you appreciate democracy; then come home. At length you take a pilot. There is the low lying land upon the horizon—the land of the free and the home of the brave—and if you are entering the port of New York, as most Americans do, finally you will see that great statue, presented by a citizen of the French republic. (Applause.) The statue of Liberty holding aloft a light, that talks to the world. Just as you get to see that statue clearly, Liberty enlightening the world, you will be called down by a custom house officer to form in line, men and women, and to call on God Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, to bear witness that you have nothing dutiable in your trunks or in your carpet sacks, rolled up in your shawl straps; and you take that oath; the United States of America compels you to. But the United States of America don't leave you there; the very next thing another official steps up to demand your keys and to open your box or package, and to look through it for things dutiable, unless, as may be, his eyes are stopped by a greenback. Well, now, everyone who has made that visit does know that most passengers have things dutiable; and I notice that the protectionists have them fully as often as the free traders. (Applause.) I have never yet seen a consistent protectionist. There may be protectionists who would not smuggle when they get a chance; but I think they must be very, very few. Go right through that daily stream—from the very institution of laws—down to the very lobby that gathers at Washington when it is proposed to repeal a tax, bullying, bragging, stealing to keep that particular tax on the American people, so patriotic are they; very much interested in protecting the poor workman. (Applause.)

See the private interests that are enlisted in merely the petty evasions of law that go on by passengers; but the gigantic smuggling, the under valuation frauds of all kinds; the private interests that are enlisted in class, that enter the primaries; that surround our national legislature with lobbyists that in every presidential election put their millions into the corruption fund. Does not the whole system reek with fraud and corruption? Is it not a discrimination against honesty, against conscience, a premium on evasion and fraud? Come into our states and look at their taxes, or look if you please, by the way, on the internal revenue. You remember how, when it was proposed to abolish that stamp tax on matches, that was in force during the war; how the match combination fought hard and fought long against the repeal of that tax. You remember how the whiskey ring spent its money to prevent the reduction of the whiskey tax; how to-day it stands ready to spend money to keep up the present tax. Go then into our states; take our system of direct taxation; what do you find? We pretend to tax all property; many of our taxes are especially framed to get at rich men; what is the result? Why, all over the United

States the very rich men simply walk from under those taxes. All over the United States the attempt to tax men upon their wealth is a farce and a fraud. (Applause.) If there were no other reason, this would be a sufficient reason why all such taxes should be abolished. In their very nature they permit evasion, law breaking, perjury, bribery and corruption; but the tax on land values, it has at least this advantage; land cannot be hid; it cannot be carried off; it always remains, so to speak, out of doors. If you don't see the land you know that it is there; and of all values the value which attaches to land is the most definite, the most easily ascertained. Why, I may go into San Francisco, into Denver, into New York, into Boston, into any city, where I am totally unacquainted, and if one offers to sell me a lot, I can go to any real estate dealer and say: Here is a lot of such a frontage and such a depth, and on such a street; what is it worth? He will tell me closely. How can he tell me the value of the house that is upon it? Not without a close examination; still less, how can any one tell me, without the examination of experts, what is the value of the things contained in that house, if it be a large and fine house; and still less, how can any one tell me the value of the various things that the man who lives in that house may own. But land, there it is. You can put up a simple little sign on every lot, or upon every piece of agricultural land, saying that this tract is of such a frontage and of such a depth, having such an area, and it belongs to such a person, and is assessed at so much, and you have published information checking the assessment; you have the assessment on a value that can be ascertained more definitely, more certainly than any other value; substitute that tax for all the many taxes that we now impose. See the gain in morals; see the gain in economy! With what a horde of tax-gathering and tax-assessing officials could we dispense; what swearing and examination and using around to find out what men have or what they are worth!

Now take the matter of justice. We single tax men are not deniers of the rights of property; but, on the contrary, we are the upholders and defenders of the rights of property. (Applause.) We say that the great French convention was right when it asserted the sacred right of property; that there is a right of property that comes from no human law, which ante-dates all human enactments; that is a clear genesis; that which no man produces, that which by his exertion he brings from the reservoir of nature and adapts to forms suited to gratify the wants of man—that is his; his as against all the world. If I by my labor catch a fish, that fish is and ought to be mine; if I make a machine, that machine belongs to me; that is the sacred right of property. There is a clear title from the producer, resting upon the right of the individual to himself, to the use of his own powers, to his rights and to the enjoyments of the results of his exertion; the right that he may give, that he may sell, that he may bequeath.

What do we do when we tax a building? When a man puts up a building by his own exertion, or it comes to him through the transfer of the right that others have to their exertion—and the moment he does it, down comes the community and says, virtually, you must give us a portion of that building. For where a man honestly earns and accumulates wealth, down come the tax gatherers and demand every year a portion of those earnings. Now, is it not as much an impairment of the right of property to take a lamb as to take a sheep? To take five per cent or twenty per cent as to take a hundred per cent? We would leave the whole of the value produced by individual exertion to the individual. We would respect the rights of property not to any limited extent, but fully. We would leave to him who produces wealth, to him to whom the title of the producer passed, all that wealth; no matter what be its form, it belongs to the individual. We would take for the uses of the community the value of land for the same reason. It belongs to the community because the growth of the community produces it. (Applause.)

What is the reason that land in San Francisco to-day is worth so much more than it was in 1860 or 1850? Why is it that barren sand, then worth nothing, has now become so enormously valuable? On account of what the owners have done? No. It is because of the growth of the whole people. It is because San Francisco is a larger city; it is because you all are here. Every child that is born; every family that comes and settles; every man that does anything to improve the city, adds to the value of land. It is a value that springs from the growth of the community. Therefore, for the very same reason of justice, the very same respect for the rights of property which induce us to leave to the individual all that individual effort produces, we would take for the community that value which arises by the growth and improvement of the community. (Applause.)

What would be the direct result? Take this city, this state or the whole country; abolish all taxes on the production of wealth; let every man be free to plow, to sow, to build, in any way add to the common stock without being fined one penny. Say to every man who would improve, who would in any way add to the production of wealth. Go ahead, go ahead; produce, accumulate all you please; add to the common stock in any

way you choose; you shall have it all; we will not fine or tax you one penny. What would be the result of abolishing all these taxes that now depress industry; that now fall on labor; that now lessen the profits of those who are adding to the general wealth? Evidently to stimulate production; to increase wealth; to bring new life into every vocation of industry. And mark the results. On the other side what would be the effect when abolishing all these taxes that now fall on labor or the products of labor, if we were to resort for public revenue to a tax upon land values; a tax that would fall on the owner of a vacant lot just as heavily as upon the man who has improved a lot by putting up a house; that would fall on the speculator or who is holding 160 acres of agricultural land idle, waiting for a tenant or a purchaser, as heavily as it would fall upon the farmer who had made the 160 acres bloom? Why, the result would be everywhere that the dog in the manger would be checked; for the result everywhere would be that the men who are holding natural opportunities, not for use but simply for profit, by demanding a price of those who must use them, would have either to use their land or give way to somebody who would. (Applause.)

Everywhere from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes to the gulf, opportunities would be opened to labor; there would come into the labor market that demand for the profits of labor that never can be satisfied—the demands of labor itself. We should cease to hear of the labor question. The notion of a man ready to work, anxious to work, and yet not able to find work, would be forgotten, would be a story of the misty past. Why, look at it here to-day, as the judge has said, in this new country, where there are as yet only sixty-five millions of us scattered over a territory that in the present stage of the arts is sufficient to support in comfort a thousand millions; yet we are actually thinking and talking as if there were too many people in the country. We want more wealth. Why don't we get it? Is any factor of production short? What are the factors of production? Labor, capital and land; but to put them in the order of their importance; land, labor, capital. (Applause.) We want more wealth; what is the result? Is it in labor; is there not enough labor? No. From all parts of the United States we hear of what seems like a surplus of labor. We have actually got to thinking that the man who gives another employment is giving him a boon. Is there any scarcity of capital? Why, so abundant is capital to-day that United States bonds, bought at the current rate, will only yield a fraction over two per cent per annum. So abundant is capital that there can be no doubt that a government loan could be floated to-day at two per cent, and little doubt but that it would soon command a premium. So abundant is capital that all over the country it is pressing for remunerative employment. If the limitation is not in labor and not in capital, it must be in land. (Applause.)

But there is no scarcity of land from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for there you will find unused or only half used land. Aye, even where population is densest. Have you not land enough in San Francisco? Go to that great city of New York, where people are crowded together so closely, the great majority of them, that physical health and moral health are in many cases alike impossible. Where only, in spite of the fact that the rich men of the whole country gravitate there; in spite of the fact, only four per cent of the families live in separate houses of their own, and sixty-five per cent of the families are crowded two or more to the single floor—crowded together layer on layer, in many places, like sardines in a box. Yet there, why are there not more houses? Not because there is not enough capital to build more houses, and yet, not because there is not land enough on which to build more houses. To-day one-half of the area of New York city is unutilized—is absolutely unused. When there is such a pressure, why don't people go to these vacant lots and build there? Because, though unused, the land is owned; because, speculating upon the future growth of the city, the owners of those vacant lots demand thousands of dollars before they will permit any one to put a house upon them. What you see in New York, you may see everywhere. Come into the coal fields of Pennsylvania; there you will frequently find thousands and thousands of miners unable to work, either locked out by their employers, or striking as a last resource against their pitiful wages being cut down a little more.

Why should there be such a struggle? Why don't these men go to work and take coal for themselves; not because there is not coal land enough in those mining districts; the parts that are worked are small as compared to her whole coal deposits. The land is not all used, but it is all owned, and before the men who would like to go to work can get the opportunity to work the raw material, they must pay thousands of dollars per acre for land that is only nominally taxed to its owner.

Go west, find people living along, crowding around every Indian reservation that is about to be opened, traveling through unused and half-used land in order to get an opportunity to settle—like men swimming a river in order to get a drink. (Applause.) Come to this state, ride through your great valleys, see those vast expanses, only dotted

here and there by a house, without a tree; those great franchises, cultivated as they are cultivated by blanket men, who have a little work in plowing time, and some more work in reaping time, and who then, after being fed almost like animals, and sheltered worse than valuable animals are sheltered, are enforced to tramp through the state. It is the artificial scarcity of natural opportunities. Is there any wonder that under this treatment of the land all over the civilized world there should be want and destitution? Aye, and suffering, degradation worse in many cases than anything known among savages, among the great masses of the people. How could it be otherwise in a world like this world, tenanted by land animals, such as men are.

How could the Creator, so long as our laws are what they are—how could He Himself relieve it? Suppose that in answer to the prayers that ascend for the relief of poverty, that the Almighty were to rain down wealth from heaven or cause it to spout up from the bowels of the earth, who, under our system, would own it? The land owner. (Applause.) There would be no benefit to labor. Consider, conceive any kind of a world your imagination will permit. Conceive of heaven itself, which, from the very necessities of our minds, we cannot otherwise think of, than as having an expansion of space—what would be the result in heaven itself, if the people who should first get to heaven were to parcel it out in big tracts among themselves? (Great applause.) Oh, the wickedness of it; oh, the blasphemy of it. Worse than atheists are those so-called Christians, who by implication, if not by direct statement attribute to the God they call on us to worship, the God that they say with their lips is all love and mercy, this bitter suffering which to-day exists in the very centers of our civilization. Good heavens! When I was last in London, the first morning that I spent there, I rose early and walked out, as I always like to walk when I go to London, through streets whose names I do not know, I came to a sign—a great big brass plate, "Office of the Missionary Society for Central Africa." I walked half a block, and right by the side of the horse guards, where you may see the pomp and glare of the color mounting, there went a man and a woman and two little children that seemed the very embodiment of hard and hopeless despair.

A while ago I was in Edinburgh, the modern Athens, the glorious capital (for such it is in some parts), the glorious capital of Scotland; aye, and I went into those tall houses, monstrous they seemed, those relics of the old time, and there, right in the shadow, in the center of such intellectual activity, such wealth, such patriotism, such public spirit, were sights that would appal the veriest savage. I saw there the hardest thing a man can look at. They took me to an institution where little children are taken in and cared for, whose mothers are at work, and here I saw the bitterest of all sights—little children shrunken and sickly from want of food; and the superintendent told me a story. He pointed out a little girl, and said that little thing was brought in here almost starving, and when we set before her food, before she touched it or tasted it, she folded her hands and raised her eyes, and thanked her heavenly Father for His bounty. Good God! Men and women, think of the blasphemy of it. To say that the bounty of that little child's heavenly Father was conceded so. (Great applause.) No, no, no. He has given enough and to spare for all that His providence brings into this world. (Applause.) It is the injustice that disinherits God's children; it is the wrong that takes from those children their heritage, not the Almighty. (Applause.)

Aye, years ago, I said on this platform that the seed had been set. Now the grand truth is beginning to appear. From one end of Great Britain to the other, all through this country, into the antipodes to which I am going—wherever our English tongue is spoken—aye, and beyond, on the continent of Europe—the truths for which we stand are making their way. The giant want is doomed. But I tell you, and I call upon my comrades to bear me witness, whether there is not a reward in this belief, in this work, which is utterly independent of results. (Applause.)

In London, on one of my visits, a clergyman of the Established church asked a private interview with me. He said, I want to talk with you frankly. Something I have seen of your sayings had made me think that you could give me an answer. Let me tell you my story. I was educated for the church; graduated at one of the universities; took orders; was sent to a foreign country as a missionary. After awhile I became a chaplain in the navy; finally, a few years since, I took a curacy in London, and settled here. I have been, up till recently, a believing Christian. I have believed the bible to be the word of God, and I have rested implicitly on its promises; and one promise I have often thought of: "Once I was young, and now am old, yet never have I seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread." I believed that till I came to my own country. I believed that until I undertook the ministerial work in London. I believed it was true. Now I know it is not true. I have seen the righteous forsaken and his seed begging their bread. (Applause.) He said, My faith is gone; and I am holding on here, but I feel like a hypocrite. I want

to ask you how it seems to you; and I told him in my poor way as I have been trying to tell you to-night. How it is, simply because of our violation of natural justice; how it is, simply because we will not take the appointed way. Aye, in our own hearts we all know. To the man who appreciates this truth, to the man who enters this work, it makes little difference this thing of results. This at least he knows, that it is not because of the power that created this world and brought men upon it, that these dark shades exist in our civilization to-day; that it is not because of the niggardliness of the Creator; and there arises in me a feeling of what the world might be. The prayer that the Master taught His disciples; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven, was no mere form of words. It is given to men to struggle for the kingdom of justice and righteousness. It is given to men to work and to hope for and to bring on that day of which the prophets have told and the seers have dreamed; that day in which involuntary poverty shall be utterly abolished. (Applause.) That day in which there shall be work for all, leisure for all, abundance for all; that day in which even the humblest shall have his share not merely of the necessities and comforts, but of the reasonable luxuries of life; that day in which every child born among us may hope to develop all that is highest and noblest in its nature; that day in which, in the midst of abundance, the fear of want shall be gone. This greed for wealth that leads men to turn their backs upon everything that is just and true, and to trample upon their fellows lest they be trampled upon; to search and to strive, and to strain every faculty of their natures to accumulate what they cannot take away, will be gone, and in that day the higher qualities of man shall have their opportunity and claim their reward.

We cannot change human nature; we are not so foolish as to dream that human nature can be changed. What we mean to do is to give the good in human nature its opportunity to develop. (Applause.)

Try our remedy by any test. The test of justice, the test of expediency. Try it by any dictum of political economy; by any maxim of good morals, by any maxim of good government. It will stand every test. What I ask you to do is not to take what I or any other man may say, but to think for yourselves.

(Prolonged applause, during which the lecturer resumed his seat.)

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

CRITICISM OF THE SINGLE TAX.

C. H. Sargent criticizes in the February issue of the Contemporary Review a recent pamphlet by Fletcher Moulton, Q. C., advocating the taxation of ground values. Mr. Sargent sets forth briefly Mr. Moulton's proposals, which are of course in line with the single tax, and then takes issue with the pamphlet for the reason that Mr. Moulton has failed to indicate the proportion of ground value increase resulting from the presence of the community and the proportion resulting from the expenditure of rates. He accuses Mr. Moulton of justifying the taxation of ground values, because they result in part from the common outlay, and inquires whether original ground values are also to be taxed, as they do not result from common outlay. Mr. Sargent finally objects that the taxing of ground values would be unjust to the land owner who had leased his land at low rate for a long term, since the lessee would escape taxation and profit by the unearned increment.

Mr. Sargent is troubled lest the application of Mr. Moulton's idea should unsettle and confuse the operations of those who are accustomed to develop, manage and deal in building estates and house property. He believes that the wealthy inhabitants of a fashionable locality would gain by the taxation of ground rents more than the poor tenants of mean neighborhoods, and that the renter who sublets single lodgings would go right on charging the high rents he had always charged and escape the taxation on ground rents. He believes, too, that for the cheap development of land and the cheap erection of houses, capital must have the security that land offers, and that if this is wanting capital will be invested in railway shares and the like. Mr. Sargent's final reproach is that Mr. Moulton ridicules the notion that rates are a tax on the occupier, and refers in support of this "notion" to Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," book V, chap. 8, sec. 6.

DAVITT ON THE LABOR PROBLEM.

Michael Davitt outlined in a recent lecture at Cork his scheme of social and political reform. His subject was the labor question. He exhorted Irish workmen of all sorts to regard fellow laborers in all parts of the British Isles as their natural allies. Such a natural alliance should exist regardless of the governmental relations between Ireland and the British empire. He urged that Celtic

ideas of land ownership by the nation as opposed to individual ownership should be pressed upon all the people of the British Isles. "With, in a word, our Celtic principles adjusted to modern ideas of reform, we can, if true to the genius of our race, achieve a prouder position among the nations by our missionary zeal in the cause of industrial humanity than anything we could otherwise possibly win for fatherland by the barbarisms of brute force. We do not propose to dislodge our Saxon neighbors, but we can, if we will, overcome the ideas by which the classes who have failed to exterminate us have successfully asserted their aristocratic privileges over the rights of the British masses."

He cautioned the agricultural laborers against the land greed of the farmers, and declared that the laborers must organize to improve their own condition. Private ownership of land, whether by tenant or landlord, must be abolished. "The land of a country cannot be owned by any class of the community, great or small, without a violation of the natural and inherent right in the soil by every inhabitant."

Mr. Davitt spoke thus of land purchase:

No matter what system supplants the present one, no matter what modification in ownership or tenure may be made in the future, one thing is certain as that night follows day, and that is that land is going to be taxed more or less in these countries for public purposes. Free education, laborers' dwellings, higher wages of agricultural labor, and other charges are certain to be imposed on land by the general community; and I assert that those are the tenant's best friends who warn him of what will happen if he is induced by the absconding landlord to purchase what will not free him from the taxes which the state is certain to exact from the land hereafter.

He then urged that members of parliament should be salaried, in order to do away with the tremendous advantage that wealth and aristocracy have under the unsalaried system, and advocated free education, technical in character and under popular control; shortening of the working day; better housing of the working classes; simplification of the law and cheapening of its processes, and manhood suffrage.

PROGRESSIVE TAXATION.

Charles M. Howell of Bessemer, Mich., has published in the Chicago Daily News three articles setting forth what he calls "A new economic system," though it is really nothing more than a system of taxation not altogether new. Mr. Howell sets forth his objects as these:

1. To limit the concentration of wealth so as to prevent the acquirement and retention of colossal individual fortunes.
2. To compel very wealthy classes, whose advantages and benefits derived from government or organized society are vastly greater than those enjoyed by the poorer classes, to pay, relatively, a greater proportion than the latter of the taxes necessary for the support of the government, to which the former are wholly indebted for the safe preservation of their vast property rights and the privilege of living in luxurious ease.
3. The proper distribution at stated periods of the surplus in the national treasury.

He believes that the first two objects may be accomplished by a system of taxation rising by arithmetical progression with the varying amount of property owned by the individual or corporation taxed. In due course of time such a graduated tax would reach one hundred per cent, and thus automatically set a limit to individual fortunes. For small fortunes the rate would be very low, and for even considerable fortunes it would not be very high, so that while labor would be almost relieved from taxation, the incentive to accumulate would not be removed. At the same time, vast fortunes, which Mr. Howell regards as demoralizing alike to the owner and to the community, would be unknown. He believes that this system of taxation must be embodied in the constitution of the United States, and that its application in a single state would not be desirable.

Mr. Howell would not immediately abolish all indirect taxation, but would expect it gradually to disappear as the new system got a-going. If infant industries needed protection this could be afforded them by laws prohibiting the importation of the articles to be protected. In course of time there would be a vast annual surplus, and this would be applied to the maintenance of state, county and municipal governments.

Mr. Howell argues gravely the advantages of his system; quotes Mr. Carnegie on the duty of wealth only to assert that wealth does not do its duty, and refers to Mr. Shearman's article on the owners of the United States as evidence that progressive taxation is necessary. He seems never to have heard of the single tax.

MONARCHY'S VAIN HOPE.

"The Future of English Monarchy" by Frank H. Hill does duty as the star article in the Contemporary Review for February.

Summed up in a single sentence, Mr. Hill's effort in this article seems to be directed toward finding one more dam to protect the British monarchy from the rising tide of democracy. Strangely enough, Mr. Hill's dam is the referendum, which is usually supposed to be the most democratic of governmental devices.

Mr. Hill first admits the threat implied to all monarchies in the attitude of liberal thought, and the special object lesson in the peaceful expulsion from Brazil of a monarch whose domestic and political life seems to have been well nigh blameless. He then puts in a mild plea for the doctrine that an hereditary monarch may reasonably be supposed to inherit aptitude for statecraft. Later he argues against the idea that in England the monarch ever ruled by divine right. He dissents from Mr. Bagehot's notion that the most ignorant Britons believe themselves governed by the queen, and thinks that such Britons have accepted the radical view of monarchy as an expensive and useless ornament. Since Mr. Bagehot's time much of the mystery surrounding royalty has been dispelled by the gossip of blue books, and at the same time the splendors of the throne have been diminished by the queen's retirement from public view.

In spite of all this Mr. Hill does not regard the monarchy as easily detachable from the British system. He thinks that in spite of representative government, there may exist a power in the state not derived from direct popular election, and he quotes John Stuart Mill in support of the idea that it may be wise to alleviate the characteristic imperfections of the system which we prefer. The thing that Mr. Hill fears is the ascendancy of a single power in the state, the house of commons, and a single class in the community, the working class. He sees a danger that this unchecked house of commons, responsible only to the masses, may too frequently be turned hither and yon by the combination of a great minority party, with one or more small independent groups bent on accomplishing various objects that have no direct relation to the general policy of the great party with which the groups join. For all this Mr. Hill's remedy is the referendum, and the power to decide when the people as a whole shall be appealed to for ratification or rejection of an act of parliament, shall be the monarch. This he fancies would crown democracy and democratize the crown.

Mr. Hill closes his article with a few manly words condemning the social flunkeyism that royalty begets. He also ventures the rather amusing hope that the British monarchy may be a monarchy of the whole people and not of the classes.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE MOLASSES FIEND.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Way up here in the northern part of Maine, where the wild fox digs his hole unsealed and almost primitive innocence prevails, a youth has discovered the strange alchemy whereby West Indies molasses may be transmuted to New England rum. I am as much astounded at the fact as a protectionist would be if foreign goods were brought to him in vessels that navigate the air. He would then probably see the futility of protective laws as I now see the futility of prohibitive laws. I am apprehensive if this Satan-inspired youth disseminates a knowledge of his unhallowed art among the youth of this state.

Our youth have been brought up, not like the wild Rocky mountain sheep who learns to shun danger by being exposed to it, but like the domesticated sheep protected by the barn yard fence, and to whom a removal of that fence invites certain destruction. It is an historical fact that the Spartan youth brought up under the rigid laws of Sparta, that aimed at the repression of luxury and intemperance, were less able to stand the temptations of oriental life when they invaded Persia than the other Greeks, who were brought up where more freedom prevailed. It is a knowledge of such facts that makes me quake with fearful forebodings when I think of what may happen if our youth are able to arouse and summon at their beck the "demon alcohol," who seems to slumber in most everything in nature. In my distress I appeal to you through THE STANDARD for advice. It will be useless for you to suggest a legislative act prohibiting the sale and use of molasses. It would take too long to get at it, for our present legislature is a phenomenally slow coach—slow to act and slower to comprehend—as may be seen in the course it took last winter on the Australian ballot system; besides if forced to it we can draw our sweets from the maple

tree, and of what avail would restrictive laws be where rum grows as it were on the trees.

The only feasible plan that presents itself to me to prevent our prohibitive laws from being consigned to "innocuous desuetude" is to decapitate the aforementioned youth and hereafter discourage the pursuit of knowledge. It was the study of chemistry that led the youth to his baneful discovery. Truly the poet hath said, "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing."

But before I recommend the adoption of extreme methods I desire to hear from THE STANDARD. D.

Foxcroft, Me., Feb. 8.

A DISCLAIMER.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In your issue of February 12 appears an article headed "The Work of Two Marylanders" signed "Marylander." As "Marylander" has in a friendly mood given large publicity to our names and has attached thereto much unmerited praise, we regret exceedingly the necessity of correcting a few inaccurate statements. We do not claim to have materially influenced the actions of the Business men's democratic association, except in the matter of taxation and the Australian ballot system. In both these directions we believe our action, with that of our colleagues in the Maryland single tax league and Crescent democratic association, was productive of some good.

Having been well known advocates of the above reforms, we did accompany the Business men's democratic association to Annapolis to still further press them. The fact that Mr. Ogden did, on two occasions, address the committee of examination appointed by the mayor, under pledges made by him during the canvass, has doubtless misled "Marylander," who has permitted his generous imagination to supply his want of information. Mr. Morrison did not "hear of it and write, asking, etc.," nor did the correspondence stated to have occurred, ever take place. The "twenty-five hundred dollar" contribution named will no doubt surprise that gentleman, who, although a staunch friend of our cause and a liberal contributor to it from time to time, has never been called upon to the extent indicated. Lastly, the general inference that the address of Mr. Ogden before the committee of examination had the effect on the report of that body so graphically stated by "Marylander," and the alleged quotations from editors and other prominent persons commenting on that report, are entirely unwarranted by the real facts. We feel it due to ourselves and to the prominent gentlemen who have been misquoted and misrepresented in the article, to ask for the publication of this communication.

W. J. OGDEN,
WM. N. HILL, M. D.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

DIED DECEMBER 10, 1889 (1)

The good of life was spent, and naught remained

But patient drawing of the labored breath,
And waiting, waiting, through long, lingering hours,

For one he feared not—Death.

"Why longer, on the rack of this tough world,

Stretch him out thus?" impatiently we cried;
And still the fates their tender secret kept,
No syllable replied.

At length there came a lovely day of days—
The birthday of his dear immortal friend;
Then fell a solemn and foreboding change,
And then—the quiet end.

It was, at least, a strange and beautiful thing

That on the great emancipator's day
His friend, from pain made free, should rise
and go

To be with him alway.

Oliver Johnson, a veteran of the abolition movement, after lingering long between life and death, passed away on Garrison's birthday. The incident called forth the above poem by Rev. J. W. Chadwick, which appeared, we believe, in the Christian Union—(E.D.)

A STARTLING STATEMENT.

New York Herald.

Mrs. Ballington Booth, of the Salvation army, who has been visiting the slums of this city, feels compelled to say from knowledge that nowhere else in the world is there more degrading vice and poverty than in the city of New York.

WHO ARE THE TAXPAYERS, PLEASE?
San Francisco Alta.

We observe that Henry George's single tax is largely advocated by people who pay no tax.

AN UNPROTECTED INFANT INDUSTRY.
Boston Globe.

Over a dozen infant burglars are awaiting trial in New York. Here is an infant industry that seems to have escaped the attention of the protectionists.

BALLOT REFORM.

THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF BALLOT REFORM.

First—All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.

Second—The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.

Third—All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

Fourth—Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

Fifth—Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions.

PROGRESS IN NEW YORK.

THE ENROLMENT OF PETITIONERS LIKELY TO EXCEED 50,000 IN THIS CITY—WORKINGMEN AWAKE—THE SAXTON BILL PASSES THE SENATE.

At the regular meeting of the Ballot reform league, held on Friday evening of last week, it became evident that the number of signatures from this city would probably be more than fifty thousand by the end of the present week, and as the committee particularly desires to get the petition before the legislature in advance of action by the assembly, it was resolved to send it to Albany for presentation on Tuesday, March 4, which will probably be in time to anticipate action by the house. The enrolment up to Monday night was 44,102, a gain of nearly 7,000 in one week. The separate blanks, constituting the petition, will be pasted on sheets arranged by assembly districts and streets, and these sheets will be bound together in an enormous book, the pages of which will be nearly two by three feet in size, while the book, solidly bound, will be nearly four feet thick. All signatures to the petition of the New York ballot reform league to be enrolled must be sent to headquarters, 15 Cortlandt street, not later than noon of Friday, February 28. The petition will be on exhibition in the window of No. 240 Fifth avenue, between Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth streets, from noon of Saturday, March 1, until noon of Monday, March 3, when it will be sent to Albany. The petition will doubtless be the largest ever presented to the legislature. Hon. Carl Schurz, Mr. Wheeler H. Peckham and Mr. Louis F. Post were appointed a committee to draw up a memorial that will be presented to the full committee for action at a meeting to be held this Wednesday evening at the Reform club. As many members as possible will be urged to accompany the memorial and petition to Albany.

At a recent meeting of the Brooklyn ballot reform league the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Hall and ex-District Attorney John Winslow denounced Governor Hill as the real obstacle to ballot reform. The report of ex-Senator Griswold, chairman of the executive committee, showed that the league had sent out 113,000 blank petitions and 7,500 personal letters; that 13,861 signatures had been received, and that the membership of the league reaches 700 in Brooklyn.

The Saxton bill passed the senate last week, practically without amendment. Two democrats, Ahearn and Chase, voted in the affirmative with the republicans; Mr. Linson, democrat, did not vote, and the vote stood 19 to 9, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Ahearn, Berkett, Chase, Coggeshall, Deane, Donaldson, Emerson, Fassett, Hendricks, Hunter, Laughlin, O'Connor, Richardson, Robertson, Saxton, Sloan, Stewart, Van Gorder, Vedder—19.

Nays—Messrs. Brown, Cantor, Collins, Hawkins, Ives, Jacobs, McCarren, Roesch, Stadler—9.

The bill reached the house on the day after its passage by the senate. Mr. Acker proposed an amendment providing that the separate tickets on the ballot be printed in different colors.

The Saxton corrupt practices bill has passed the senate and gone to third reading in the assembly.

Various district assemblies of the Knights of Labor in this city are arranging for a meeting in favor of ballot reform. Mr. Powderly will be asked to speak. The Excelsior labor club, a local assembly of the Knights of Labor, at its last meeting attacked Senator Roesch for stating in the senate that organized labor had not asked or demanded the passage of the Saxton ballot reform bill. The club declared that the bill had been endorsed by forty-two district assemblies of the Knights of Labor at a state convention held in Troy, February 3, by the American federation of labor and by the state trades' assembly.

The Fifth assembly district ballot reform league has adopted resolutions declaring for the Saxton bill, and advising all persons to vote for only such legislative candidates as are pledged to true ballot reform.

Lieutenant-Governor Jones professes anxiety for ballot reform, and has an amendment which he hopes will be accepted by Mr. Saxton. He believes that the amendment will make the bill satisfactory to Governor Hill. The lieutenant-governor wishes an unofficial ballot to be provided. Upon the out-

side of the official ballot shall be stamped the arms of the state of New York, and the date of the election. The voter must pass by the official vote distributor and must receive a ballot from him, take the ballot into the private compartment with him, and if he does not desire to use that ballot, but prefers to vote an unofficial ballot which he has brought with him, he shall be at liberty to do so; but when he reaches the ballot box he must either vote the official ballot or deliver that (having voted the ballot of his choice) to an inspector, who will deposit it in a box provided therefor. In order to accomplish the result desired, which is that he shall have no evidence to show that he has voted the unofficial ballot, it shall be deemed a misdemeanor for any man to take from the election place an official ballot, and any one found with one in his possession shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to fine and imprisonment. The unofficial ballot should be printed by the state so as to avoid excuse for political assessments.

HENRY RICHMOND ON BALLOT REFORM.

Henry Richmond delivered before the central labor union of Buffalo last week an address on ballot reform. Mr. Richmond declared himself a democrat and a bitter partisan, but likewise a believer in the Australian system of voting. He affirmed that the reform system is the only remedy for the growing electoral corruption, and met with conclusive answers the various objections that have been raised.

A TANGLE IN WEST VIRGINIA.

The Australian ballot reform bill in West Virginia, which was advocated by the democrats and opposed by the republicans, has been so amended by the latter in the senate that it is now opposed by the democrats. The bill provides in conformity to the Australian system that all the tickets or candidates' names shall be printed on one ballot in different columns. This is the very gist of the bill. But the republicans stuck it out by an yea and nay vote. The amendments offered destroy the secrecy of the ballot which the proposed bill provides for. The republicans also adopted an amendment submitting the bill to the people, and that it shall be published in full in every weekly newspaper in the state for four successive weeks prior to the election. There are almost sixty printed pages of the bill. As it now stands it makes the governor, secretary of the state and speaker of the house guilty of felonies if they repeat the action taken in the election two years ago. The senate passed it 11 to 9, democrats in the negative, and it now goes to the house.

BETTER PROSPECTS IN MARYLAND.

It is now believed that the Maryland legislature will have a ballot reform measure in spite of Senator Gorman's opposition. State Senator John S. West of Cecil county, democrat and member of the committee which is trying to further the Australian ballot bill, has offered a resolution demanding of the committee an early report on this measure. Senator Poe argued for the Australian system, and Senator Wentz, one of Gorman's creatures, opposed the reform and outlined this scheme of evading the Massachusetts ballot law: "I give each man a name to put in the blank space and check these names off opposite the name of each employee. Now, when the ballot comes out and I find my names all voted I have my proof. Another way would be to have each employee stick a small hole in his ticket, selecting for the place for that hole a letter in a candidate's name to correspond with the initial letter of the voter's surname, and again I have my proof."

Senator Turner of Fredericks replied to Mr. Wentz, whose argument, he said, was interesting, but not pertinent. He said that the gentleman had displayed the Massachusetts ballot. That is not what is asked for. Nobody has asked for that. Mr. Wentz has proved to his own satisfaction, if to no one else's, that the Massachusetts ballot will not prevent bribery and corruption. That is not the ballot that is wanted. What is wanted is the ballot proposed by the Business men's association. That is a ballot with parallel, vertical columns, all the candidates of a party grouped together and party emblems at the top of each. This is what is wanted, what the order calls for, and not the Massachusetts ballot.

The senate of North Dakota has adopted, by a vote of 21 to 8, the bill providing for the Australian ballot.

PERHAPS IT'S THE SUSPENDERS.

West Virginia Democrat.

"How much be them pants, any way?" asked the farmer.

"Three seventy-five," answered the clerk.

"Yes, same old price. 'Taters' worth half what they uster be, corn 'way down to nothing', oats way down, butter down, eggs down—I'd like to know, by gosh, what keeps pants way up, huh?"

A COMBINATION THAT DOESN'T WORK.

Chicago Herald.

The beneficent system of protection fails sometimes. It enables the western farmers to burn their corn to keep from freezing, but it does not enable the coal miners to eat their coal to keep from starving.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

FARMERS ARE LEARNING.

HARD TIMES AND SOUND TEACHING SHAKE THEIR FAITH IN THE VIRTUES OF PROTECTION.

W. B. Estell, who has been engaged in the Reform club's tariff reform work in central New York, reports the farmers of that region ripe for economic instruction. Mr. Estell made arrangement for the enrolment of the whole 22,000 voters in Steuben county, and spoke between times at various points in Lawrence county. The twelve meetings in the latter county reached probably 5,000 voters, chiefly of the farming class. Mr. Estell is now organizing the tariff reform campaign in Cattaraugus, Steuben and Allegany counties. He will arrange for about fifty meetings, to be held between now and the busy farming season.

In Livingston county deep interest in the tariff question has developed. Men drove for miles over bad roads and through hard storms to hear the speakers. Many hearers were republicans, and the striking characteristic of the campaign was its non-partisan character. The faith of many republican farmers has been shaken. In 1888 they voted for Harrison partly from habit and partly because republican speakers assured them that the success of the democrats meant low prices for farm products, especially potatoes, while republican success meant protection and 75 cents a bushel for potatoes. Soon after the election the price of potatoes fell below 15 cents a bushel, the amount of the protective duty, and now they bring only from 35 to 55 cents a bushel. Before the election of 1888 oats sold at 37 cents a bushel; now they bring 26 cents. In parts of Livingston county the best hay sells for \$6 a ton, when there is little or no profit in raising it at \$9. Barley brings but 42 cents a bushel, and buckwheat is low. Excellent butter sells at 12 cents a pound, and 14 cents is a high price. Many farms are deserted because it has not been profitable to work them.

J. S. Clark of Batavia, counsel for a railway company, reports that out of eighty farms whose titles he recently examined, seventy-two were mortgaged to more than half their value. In Steuben county many farmers are unable to pay taxes and interest on mortgages. A farm laborer in Hornellsville, now lumbering at fifty cents a day, told Mr. Estell that he had just received notice that thereafter his wages would be only twenty-five cents a day. When asked why he accepted such wages his response was that it was this or nothing, since tramps from the cities dropped off freight trains all through the country and were ready to work for almost nothing. Farm mortgages are a fruitful source of political corruption and ballot reform is an absolute essential. In the presence of all these facts farmers begin to think that protection is hardly the blessing it has been thought.

TO STUDY THE TARIFF QUESTION.

The Reform club has re-organized its committees for 1890, and the sub-committee on tariff reform, for the city of New York, now consists of E. Ellery Anderson, chairman; P. Chauncey Anderson, secretary; James Byrne, Wm. J. Gibson, Joseph S. Moore, John Brooks, Leavitt, Gilbert D. Lamb, Wm. T. Croasdale and Jas. W. Osborne. The committee at its first meeting resolved to go ahead promptly in the establishment of a school for the study of the tariff question, and appointed sub-committees to procure a hall, arrange for instructors, and so on. The lessons will be given weekly and all that is required of any one desiring to join the class is a written declaration that he will attend the lectures with reasonable regularity and follow the course of study prescribed. The times and place of meeting will probably be announced in the next issue of THE STANDARD and any of our readers desiring to become a member of the class can have his name enrolled by writing to W. T. Croasdale at THE STANDARD office, 12 Union square.

SMALL CHANCE OF RECIPROCITY.

It was supposed by the South American delegates to the Pan-American conference that an American zollverein might be formed, but the committee of the conference having the question in charge has received a broad hint in the shape of a resolution, undoubtedly inspired by the state department, declaring that no zollverein is to be contemplated if it provides for free trade among the nations concerned. The only thing left is reciprocity to be negotiated by treaties with each country. This will be of little avail, for the only important product for which the Argentine Republic, for example, asks free admission is wool, the very keystone of the American tariff.

ALMOST AS GOOD AS VICTORY.

Tariff reformers in Philadelphia are well pleased with the showing made by William M. Ayres in his contest last week with State Senator Keyburn, republican, for the seat in congress made vacant by the death of Judge Kelley. Mr. Ayres was defeated in 1888 by Judge Kelley, the latter's majority being 9,639 votes. This year Mr. Keyburn's majority is 8,884. Kelley's majority of 1888 was about 1,400 lower than it had been for many years. This year Mr. Ayres reduces it

by 1,255 votes more. The Record says: "In despite of trading on the part of the republicans and treachery among unscrupulous democrats, he has come off with flying colors and has carried the banner of tariff reform a great stride toward the front."

A TAX OF 500 PER CENT.

The Wholesale liquor dealers' association, in a memorial to congress setting forth some objections to the tax on spirits, says:

Under the present law the tax of 90 cents per proof gallon represents a tax of from 20.0 to 300 per cent of the actual cost of the goods on all fine grades of Bourbons and ryes. On spirits and what is termed "continuous distillation spirit goods," this tax of 90 cents amounts to 750 per cent of the actual value of the articles so taxed. Fine Bourbons are at present contracted for to be made at the distillery warehouse at an average price of 45 cents per gallon. Spirit goods are at present sold at 12 cents per proof gallon, including barrels, and all fixed charges paid. Even at so low a price these latter goods yield a small percentage of profit to the distiller. As a practical illustration of the ratio of taxes to the cost of spirits we append a copy of an invoice of high proof spirits:

PEORIA, ILL., Jan. 31, 1890.

Sixty-five barrels of No. 1 spirits
5,647.75 proof gallon at 13 1/2 cts. . . . \$763 45
Taxes on 5,647.75 proof gallons at 90c. . . . 5,082 97

Total \$5 845 42

Cost of goods, including barrels,
profit to distiller, etc. . . . \$763 45
Tax exacted by the government,
about 500 per cent 5,082 97

The national convention of the cigar manufacturers and importers recently in session in this city adopted a resolution protesting against the construction of the laws regulating the duty on imported leaf tobacco and calling for a uniform duty of thirty-five cents per pound in order to make the duty definite and certain.

Colonel W. F. Vilas, late secretary of the interior, declares that the issue in 1892 will be the tariff question, and that with the right ticket the democrats will sweep the country.

PERSONAL.

Ed. F. Zimmerman, who resigned from the Manhattan single tax club when he moved across the Harlem, is again in harness. He is the vice-president of the North New York single tax club.

Judge Frank T. Reid, who went to the northwest a few months ago, is now visiting Franklin, Tenn. P. H. Carroll of Evansville suggests that the state committee invite him to make a few speeches on the single tax in Indiana.

W. B. Estell has been in the city for the past week. Since last fall he has been traveling through the state making tariff reform speeches and organizing for the coming congressional campaign.

William E. Rann, vice-president of the Buffalo single tax club, has been in the city for a week, on pleasure bent.

R. H. Thompson of Thompson & Riggen, Portland, Ore., visited THE STANDARD office the other day. He says the single tax is gaining many converts in the Webfoot state.

Alfred Cridge of San Francisco, who has made a special study of political statistics and industrial questions generally, states that for twenty years he has carefully investigated the subject of the practical disfranchisement, through misrepresentation, of the masses of voters, and has for the last twelve years had close and accurate knowledge of the details of party management and manipulation. From these data he claims to have reduced to a mathematical and practical demonstration the proposition that not one per cent of the voting population of the United States are actually represented in its state and national legislatures.

W. R. Van Dolah of Lebanon, Ohio, writes that he has just returned from a trip that included the northwest and southwest—all the territory embraced west of the Missouri river. He is delighted with the evidence he has seen of the growth of the single tax sentiment.

C. H. Wesseler of Evansville, Ind., has a letter in the Journal of that city, in which he shows how the city's revenue could be largely increased without doing injustice to anybody.

The February issue of the Phonographic World of New York contains a letter on the single tax from James Malcolm of Chicago. He wants stenographers to read up on the question of the day, and says he will write again to the World.

F. W. Rockwell of Farmington, Iowa, offers to make a limited number of engagements for Friday and Saturday nights, speaking at points not too far away from Farmington, on "The Coming Millennium," giving the problem that confronts civilization to-day and the remedy that will usher in the future.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government; the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments, or a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or in rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts when land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.
3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.
4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies, and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.
5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public uses that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

1. Each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.
2. All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Feb. 25, 1890.

The single tax enrolment committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work stand as reported last week, viz., \$2,742.70.

The cash contributions have been increased by the sum of twenty-five cents received from J. Henry McIntyre, Philadelphia, Pa., which brings the amount up to \$507.19.

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	75,125
Received during the week ending Feb. 25	473
Total	75,598

G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

BROOKLYN ASSESSMENTS.

IMPROVED.

South side Leonard street, 125 feet south of Ten Eyck street, 25x100. Sold for \$5,250; assessed at \$2,600, or 49½ per cent of its value.

South side Prospect place, 187 3 feet east of Casson avenue, 25x101. Sold for \$3,500; assessed at \$1,200, or 34½ per cent of its value.

South side Wyckoff street, 36 8 feet east of Bond street, 16.8x100. Sold for \$3,150; assessed at \$1,000, or 60½ per cent of its value.

North side Atlantic avenue, 116.5 feet east of Utica avenue, 16.8x99.1. Sold for \$3,500; assessed at \$2,300, or 65½ per cent of its value.

East side Throop avenue, 23 feet south of Hancock street, 19.1x81. Sold for \$16,000; assessed at \$7,900, or 49½ per cent of its value.

The average assessment on the above five buildings is 52 per cent.

VACANT.

Pacific street, southeast corner of R. Chester street, 600x107.2. Sold for \$12,750; assessed at \$4,650, or 36½ per cent of its value.

West side Skillman street, 200 feet south of Willoughby avenue. Sold for \$2,000; assessed at \$750, or 37½ per cent of its value.

East side Vanderbilt avenue, 89.8 feet south of De Kalb avenue, 17.2x85. Sold for \$8,000; assessed at \$5,500, or 68½ per cent of its value.

Northwest corner Stockton street and Sumner avenue, 25x100. Sold for \$9,000; assessed at \$5,000, or 55½ per cent of its value.

South side Atlantic avenue, 316 8 feet west of Stone avenue, 16.8x100. Sold for \$2,600; assessed at \$1,600, or 61½ per cent of its value.

The average assessment on the above five parcels of land is 47½ per cent.

THE ROLL OF STATES.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE AUTHOR OF "THE LAND AND THE COMMUNITY" ADDRESSES THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB—CELEBRATING WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY—INTERESTING REMARKS FROM A JAPANESE.

The Rev. S. W. Thackeray, author of "The Land and the Community," delivered an address before the Manhattan single tax club last Thursday evening, February 20. There was a large audience present, who greeted the reverend gentleman with applause when he appeared on the platform. He took for his subject, "Who is the real owner of the land?" and entered into a long and close analysis of the difference in meaning between "ownership" and "possession." Showing how ownership can attach only to things produced by labor, he proceeded to the last analysis, in which he gave to God alone the ownership of land. He brought his address to a close by giving four tests which any piece of property must satisfy before the holder of it can be said to own it:

1. Did the holder make it out of nothing?
 2. Did he make it out of the raw material?
 3. Did he secure a title to it by gift or purchase?
 4. Can he destroy it totally without doing his neighbor an irreparable injury?
- The speaker then went on to show that land could not meet these tests. From this it was an easy step to show that man's title to the earth is but that of a "possessor."

"Private property," said he, "in land is an infringement of the sovereignty of the Almighty."

With these words the speaker sat down amidst a burst of cheering from the throats of men who had never before heard a minister of the Lord declare that the earth as well as the firmament is equally "His handiwork."

The dinner given last Saturday evening in celebration of Washington's birthday was a success. Mr. Simon, the steward of the club, had prepared a large pate and lobster salad, which, with the claret and other trimmings,

were duly appreciated. The only toast of the evening, "The day we celebrate," was responded to by C. P. Kelly in a happy vein, after which stories, songs and verses came in rapid succession. The most notable among them was the following, sung by the author, George Brunswick:

A glorious dawn of golden times
At last has risen, spreading light;
A wrong that has too long prevailed,
Must now give way to better right!
What poets dream'd, religious preach'd,
And sages thought, justice demands,
Breaks forth and grows on thoughtful minds
And, as eternal truth, expands.

Inspired by wise and priestly men,
Touched by the widespread misery,
We have inflamed a new crusade
Against undeserved poverty,
To free the soil from landed lords,
Proclaim its common heritage—
For this we'll strive with might and main;
This is the holy war we wage.

Yes, we are in for light and strife,
But not with brutal force or arms;
Arousing men's intelligence,
Our war means progress and reforms.
With ballot, law and press, allies,
And standard high, we shall assail
This bulwark of unrighteousness
Till truth and justice will prevail.

Among the guests of the club was Mr. Lokomoto, a Japanese, who is taking a course of law at one of the city universities. In conversation he stated that after he finishes his present course he will go to England, where he will take another course, after which he will return to his native country. The object of these studies is to enable him to report to his government the differences in jurisprudence in the three countries. He was called on and made a speech, in which he gave his impressions of our civilization as compared with that of Japan. He had become much impressed with the earnestness displayed by the single tax men of this country, and this had led him to a study of the question. He had done this with an unbiased mind, with a view to seeing if he could find in it anything that would inure to the benefit of his countrymen. He wished to say that all the propositions advanced in the single tax idea were based on justice and were therefore right. He considered that the most valuable present he would take home with him to Japan would be the truths enunciated by Henry George and set forth in "Progress and Poverty." The people of Japan, he said, would listen with open minds. For eighty years there had been strong democratic-republican feeling among them, which would be intensified when they understood the truly democratic doctrine of the single tax. Later in the evening Mr. Lokomoto rendered a Japanese song on spring. The proceedings closed by singing "The Star Spangled Banner." To-morrow evening, February 27, at 8.30, there will be a "smoke talk" and musical entertainment, to which all friends and the public are invited. The club will keep open house on this occasion.

BROOKLYN.

AN IMPORTANT MEETING TO BE HELD IN THE FLATBUSH TOWN HALL.

This Wednesday evening, February 26, the club will entertain its friends. A varied programme has been arranged. A considerable number of ladies have already signified their intention to be present.

On Saturday evening the members of the club will adjourn en masse to the Flatbush town hall, to ventilate their objections to certain features of the bill annexing that town to Brooklyn. The club has secured W. T. Croasdale, L. F. Post and C. O. C. Hennessy to enlighten the benighted of Flatbush upon the true methods of taxation.

On Sunday evening James McGregor spoke on protection.

Fred L. Deverall, Brooklyn, E. D.—Professor Van Buren Denslow talked upon "Population and Wages" before the Philosophical society last Sunday afternoon to a good audience. He was as clear as mud.

NEW YORK STATE.

S. T. Yonkers.—The weekly meeting of the Riverside association at Montgomery hall last Thursday evening was well attended. A. J. Steers of New York opened the proceedings by reading Professor Garland's sketch, "Under the Lion's Paw," after which William McCabe delivered an address on "The taxation of land values." After the speech questions were invited. They came so thick that the meeting held on till nearly midnight, when the visiting speakers had to leave in order to catch the last train to New York city. To-morrow evening (Thursday) other speakers will address the association.

MASSACHUSETTS.

A STATE ORGANIZATION FORMED—A LETTER FROM THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Levi H. Turner, Charlestown, Boston.—At our state conference the following was adopted and made the basis on which we resolved the conference into a permanent organization:

For the furtherance of the work of single tax propaganda in this state be it Resolved, That we organize a permanent single tax state central committee of Massachusetts, to which all persons over eighteen years of age, residents of this state, shall

shall be eligible to membership by declaring over their signature their indorsement of the principles underlying the single tax movement. This declaration shall be made on a double printed page, one-half of which shall be taken by the person so joining (without assessment), the other to be retained on file by the secretary.

The officers of this organization shall be a chairman, secretary and such other officers as shall be deemed necessary. The secretary must call a meeting of the committee at any time when requested to do so over the signatures of fifteen members in good and regular standing.

L. H. Turner, Charlestown, Boston.—A series of single tax lectures will be delivered on the second and fourth Sundays in each month in G. A. R. hall, 616 Washington street, at 3 p. m. On Sunday, March 9, S. H. Howes of Southboro will speak on "The Farmer and the Single Tax." Other dates will be arranged later. The public, both ladies and gentlemen, are cordially invited to the course.

H. J. Chase, East Douglas.—This is the veritable stronghold of protectionism. It was here, it is said, that the republican party was born, and I had supposed that this would be the scene of its last gasp. Judge, then, of my surprise when I read in our local paper, republican and protective from top to bottom, anent the coming election for assessor, the following: "Whoever is chosen we hope will look sharp after the valuable spots within half a mile in every direction from the center. Land that is valued from \$1 by the foot to \$5,000 by the acre should not escape from being taxed for somewhere near these figures. The town ought to get some benefit out of it, while it remains in the hands of the present owners." Of course I read in THE STANDARD about lightning striking here and there all over the country, but it is the shock in your immediate neighborhood that wakes you up.

NEW JERSEY.

AN ANSWER TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE PATERSON SINGLE TAX CLUB CONCERNING MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS—ORGANIZED IN CAMDEN.

J. A. Craig, Paterson.—In reply to the resolutions passed at a recent meeting of our club, relative to the mortgaged indebtedness of the state, Mr. Bishop, chief of the bureau of statistics, said:

In reply to your letter of the 4th inst., enclosing resolutions passed at a meeting of the single tax association, I will say that the subject you refer to has been talked over both with Governor Green and Governor Abbott and has met their approval, and it will be taken up and investigated, so far as our appropriation will allow, in our next annual report, if the census department does not incorporate it in their work.

Our club printed, and are now circulating Mr. Visser's Dutch translation of the single tax platform.

William M. Callingham, Camden.—The hopes and desires of the single tax men of this vicinity have at last been realized by the permanent formation of the Camden county single tax club. The following officers have been elected: President, Louis M. Randall; vice president, Aaron Hand; secretary, William M. Callingham; treasurer, James Dunn; librarian, Clarence Sargeant. We have secured for permanent meeting place a beautiful room, in the heart of the city, upon the main thoroughfare.

PENNSYLVANIA.

MR. POWDERLY TALKS OF THE SINGLE TAX AT WYOMING.

William Hancock, Wyoming.—On Monday, February 10, Mr. Powderly addressed us. The most of his remarks were devoted to an exposition of the single tax, which he heartily indorsed, and his audience was fully in harmony with him. Our village is becoming solid for the abolition of taxation, and is in favor of taking values created by growth of population and applying them to the satisfaction of the wants of the community that creates them. On Tuesday evening, February 25, Rev. Mr. J. H. Ames of Scranton will address us under the auspices of the Knights of Labor, giving us the moral side of the single tax. The meeting promises to be large and enthusiastic.

INDIANA.

THE FARMERS ARE INTERESTED IN THE SINGLE TAX—NEWS FROM INDIANAPOLIS.

P. H. Carroll, Evansville.—For the last three months I have been visiting the surrounding towns, and, incidentally, doing propaganda work. The effect has been seen in Booneville, where Samuel Quinn, Captain Wartman and myself have been invited to speak. William H. Stone, a whole-souled, genial farmer, living a mile or two from Booneville, has engaged a church for the purpose.

C. H. Wesseler, Evansville.—A meeting was held here on the 21st, which was largely attended.

C. H. Wesseler, Booneville.—The court house was well filled by farmers on Tuesday evening, the 18th, to hear addresses on the single tax and free trade. W. H. Stone, a farmer, was made chairman, and five speakers from Evansville delivered the speeches. The au-

dience paid the closest attention to all the speakers. The meeting was a complete success all round.

L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.—Our Sunday and Thursday evening meetings are well attended. Last Sunday evening, February 16, Wendel Vandersaar, a blacksmith, made the address. Mr. Vandersaar is a "New Churchman," and reads the New Earth; hence his conversion to our doctrine. Mr. D. F. Kennedy, a stonecutter and prominent trades unionist, made a brief talk. Last night, February 19, Judge Fellows and myself addressed a meeting of carpenters. It was a good night's work, and one that will bear fruit.

ILLINOIS.

A SURPRISE IN QUINCY—AN IMPORTANT RESOLUTION UNEXPECTEDLY APPROVED.

C. F. Perry, Quincy.—On the 14th inst. Lyman McCarl addressed the club on the subject of tariff reform. Mr. McCarl is quite friendly to our principles.

Respecting our agitation here in favor of changing the method of levying our special taxes to that of taxing land values only, the following excerpt from the official report of last night's city council proceedings will be of interest:

By Alderman Swimmer: Resolved, That the city attorney be and is hereby instructed to submit at the next regular meeting of the council, his opinion in writing, whether an ordinance drawn under article IX, properly drawn otherwise and embracing the following provisions would be legal:

1. Providing as one improvement for two hundred blocks of street paving.
2. That the special tax therefore be levied, assessed and collected upon and from the lots, parts of lots and parcels or tracts of lands, contiguous to and touching upon the line of any of the streets embraced within the said two hundred blocks, in the proportion of the total cost of the entire improvement to the value of the said lots, parts of lots and parcels or tracts of land, including the value of right of way, but excluding all buildings, other improvements and personal property in the valuation.

Alderman Swimmer moved to adopt. The ayes and nays were taken on the motion to adopt, and resulted: Ayes—Walker, Chumbley, Swimmer, Gillespie, Fitzgerald, Campbell, Freund—7. Nays—Hauworth, Heckenkamp, Fischer, Stork, Arnold—5. The motion was adopted.

The surprising thing was the introduction of the resolution by Alderman Swimmer. Alderman Freund was to introduce it; and while a copy had been sent previously to each alderman, it was not even known that Alderman Swimmer would vote for it, yet he not only voluntarily introduced it, but when it seemed necessary, made a good argument in its favor. Alderman Freund also spoke in favor of the resolution and Alderman Charles H. Gillespie made a pointed, reasonable argument in its behalf. We shall await the report with much interest.

Boyd Cornick, Mascoutah.—Since his conversion to the single tax idea, J. W. Swaw has been indefatigable in his preaching of the single tax. He organized a single tax league at High Gate, and is now organizing another at Oak Hill, Crawford county.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud.—The signatures which I nowadays send to the enrolment committee are from men who in the beginning opposed us. That is very satisfactory to me; for I know their change of heart has been the result of examination of our doctrine.

MISSOURI.

FATHER J. O. S. HUNTINGTON LECTURING IN EAST ST. LOUIS AND ST. LOUIS.

S. T., East St. Louis.—Father J. O. S. Huntington began a series of six lectures at Boughan's hall on February 19, concluding on Monday evening, the 24. He is to speak in Music hall, St. Louis, on Tuesday, the 25th, under the auspices of the St. Louis single tax league, and during the remainder of the week he will speak every evening at Trinity church, and will also conduct a business men's noonday meeting every day at 209 North Fourth avenue.

Percy Pepoon, St. Louis.—Our last meeting was an experience meeting. Dr. W. B. Ad-dington, well known here as a writer and thinker on social questions, announced that he would be found in the thick of the fight hereafter.

Colonel T. J. Portis, general attorney of the Missouri Pacific railway system, is on our programme for an address soon.

The mock congress has considered a free trade measure for the past three sessions. The next measure to be debated will probably be a single tax bill. H. Martin Williams has been elected speaker.

C. A. Potwin, late of Zanesville, Ohio, has located at Aurora, Mo., where he will develop some mines and also some single tax sentiment.

Mayor Noonan will preside at the great single tax meeting at Music hall, to be addressed by Father Huntington.

Several gentlemen will soon start a first-class economic weekly journal in St. Louis, which will advocate the single tax editorially.

The democrats and republicans of Pulaski and Jasper counties have arranged great mass meetings on March 3, for a joint dis-

cussion of the tariff question. The single tax league furnishes the principal free trade speaker of the occasion in the person of H. Martin Williams.

Secretary Walker of the Missouri democratic state central committee was an interested listener at the last meeting of the league.

MICHIGAN.

A MEMBER OF A REPUBLICAN CLUB PUBLICLY ADVOCATES THE SINGLE TAX.

W. H. Leckie, Detroit.—The Michigan club is made up of men who are firm adherents of the theory that taxation brings prosperity. J. B. Howarth is one of the large manufacturing firm of Pingree & Howarth and a member of the club. On February 10 the club came together to listen to an address from the gentleman on "Municipal Taxation." The conclusions of Mr. Howarth were entirely unexpected. He advocated the Henry George plan of a single tax on land values. Despite his radicalism he was attentively listened to.

Mr. Howarth's address has caused a sensation. It was not expected that he, an old republican and an advocate in 1888 of the protective idea, should take a position so entirely opposite to the convictions of a lifetime. The Tribune is much exercised over this new departure.

LOUISIANA.

HOW THE THIN EDGE OF THE WEDGE WOULD BE INSERTED.

John S. Watters, New Orleans.—The article below, taken from the single tax column of the Sunday State, contains what I think is an eminently practical plan for the introduction of the single tax. Lands, now the property of the states, are very poor, perhaps; possibly are only poorly located. But with the appearance upon them of population, under the plan proposed, value will appear, as we know, unless the land is of such poor quality as to yield little or nothing to the plough.

There is still in many if not all the states, land which has not yet been taken up, and now is the property of the state. Let such land be carefully assessed, and rented to occupants, the rent of the bare unimproved land to constitute their taxes, and no taxes of any kind imposed upon their improvements. At the end of three years, or two, let the land be again carefully assessed, no improvements being included in the estimated rental. And at the expiration of every period of three years or two or one, as may be found expedient, let the rent be determined in the same way; whatever rents obtained, after deducting a small per capita tax for the state, being used for the benefit of such tenants as avail themselves of the provisions of the law.

This plan might, without injuring any special interests (which are always stronger than the interests of the public), be introduced in the state of Louisiana at the next session of the legislature. The effect of it would be to place those who availed themselves of it, through their exemption from fines upon their industry, at a great advantage over others; and these others would soon be screaming for an equal chance. As it spread, wages and interest would be higher in the section to which it applied, and rent lower, than anywhere else in the world; labor and capital would be attracted; as population increased, contrary to the experience of men under the present conditions, wages and interest would go still higher, for the taxing away of rent would prevent land speculation, and the consequent throttling of progress which has been the history everywhere that land is private property. Soon the entire state would have the system; adjoining states would have to have it to prevent all their people leaving, to go into a healthier atmosphere; then other states; and so the circle would widen, until it included the United States; but ere then, such a tide of immigration would set toward our shores that all the standing armies of the world would be powerless to stem it—in fact, the armies would come, too; and soon, did they not institute the same system in other countries, there would be no one left in them but the owners of the land—the kings and dukes and counts and viscounts and no counts who correspond to our untitled aristocracy of wealth—and what would they do without the poor people whom they so despise? They would have their land and their machinery; but the only source of their revenue, their fellow human beings, would have evaporated. So once started, it would inevitably spread all over the earth; and in a few years we might be living in a state of affairs where none were millionaires, and none were paupers; where all had enough, and to spare, of the necessities and comforts of a civilized existence, to say nothing of a fair share of the luxuries; where, in a word, each was wealthy in proportion to his worth. A picture worthy contemplation! All incentive to crime removed, there would be no criminals, for men would rather be honest than dishonest, and it would pay better then to be honest than to trick and cheat and steal. All incentive to drunkenness removed, there would be no drunkards; for men drink to drown thought, and because their hopes are blighted, and their higher instincts cramped and stunted in the present mad hurly-burly devil-catch-the-hindmost scramble for pelf and place. There would be no bad women, because poverty and the dread of poverty make women bad to-day. There would be no unfaithful wives, for women would no longer marry for money; marriage would no longer be a bargain. There would be no paupers, rich or poor, for the taxing away of rent would prevent any one from becoming a rich pauper, and the opening up of natural opportunities and the consequent demand for labor would insure full wages to the worker, thus

rendering it impossible for any one to become a poor pauper. There would be no beggars, either of the protection, professional, or tramp variety.

This is no idle dream, no impossible plan of Utopia. It is all as plain and evident as A B C. If land were made common property, and a few individuals were by law given the ownership of the atmosphere which all must breathe in order to live, with the power to put delinquent debtors in a vacuum, those owners of the air would compose an air trust, the members of which would live in luxury upon the proceeds of others' labor which they would be obliged to deliver up in order to live at all, and the same state of affairs that exists to-day would be inaugurated. All who did not "own" enough air to live in idleness and those who owned none would be fighting each other, scrambling, tricking, stealing and cheating just as they do now. The owners of the land constitute to-day a land trust; and the consequence is just what an outsider, an onlooker, would expect: those who do not own enough land to enable them to live in idleness at the expense of the public have to fight with each other, cheat, trick, combine and steal, all under the pleasant euphemism of "business."

MINNESOTA.

MORE FLOUR MADE THAN THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD CAN EAT—THE MINNEAPOLIS CLUB.

J. F. Begitt, Minneapolis.—Our league is growing rapidly, thanks to our energetic president and the speakers he has been able to secure lately. I have sent petitions to the enrolment committee, and would have sent a contribution had I been able. But the fact is, I have been thrown out of employment because flour has been made faster than the people of the world can eat it, at least that is what I am told, and I will have to remain unemployed until the present supply has been eaten up, or down, somewhat.

A. M. Goodrich, Minneapolis.—C. J. Buell delivered an address on the single tax at 1809 East Lake street on Wednesday evening, February 12, and at the close the South Minneapolis single tax club was organized. A great deal of interest was manifested, and a number of prominent residents of that locality took part in the organization. The following officers were elected: President, A. M. Goodrich; vice-president, J. S. Benson; secretary, P. F. Hammersley; treasurer, P. W. Lefler; executive committee, I. H. Swart, H. Shol and Wm. Warrington.

The recent speech of ex-Governor McGill in opposition to the taxation of mortgages has drawn attention to the whole subject, and single tax men are bobbing up in the most unexpected quarters. We will make Minneapolis the banner city in this movement soon.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

W. E. BROKAW WANTS DAKOTANS TO HELP HIM CARRY ON THE WORK.

W. E. Brokaw, Bristol.—Last night (February 14) my brother read "Under the Lion's Paw" in our library, and made a few remarks on the land question, expressing the idea that there is plenty of land, and wondering why men should fight over it.

I sorely need funds to push the single tax fight here. Ten-cent contributions from South Dakota friends would not be missed so much by them as they are by me. I wish to say, further, that all contributions go directly toward "spreading the light," my time and labor being given free.

Please ask all readers of THE STANDARD in South Dakota to write me at once as to their opinions of best time and place for our next meeting, so as to secure the largest attendance, as we should then form a closer organization and elect officers, besides planning for the coming campaign.

CALIFORNIA.

DELIGHTED OVER THE RESULTS OF GEORGE'S VISIT—A GOOD IDEA FROM SAN DIEGO.

S. T., San Francisco.—There has been great activity among our friends here since the advent of Mr. George, and the single tax club is feeling its good effects in a large accession to its membership. The Examiner was especially noticeable for its courteous greeting to Mr. George and kindly mention of the proceedings during his stay here, for which the club at its last meeting passed an especial vote of thanks.

Geo. B. Whaley, San Diego.—I have a "novel" way of sowing the seed, which might be worthy of imitation in other places. My business is buying, selling and exchanging old

paper novels. Every book that goes out of my place has inclosed within its innocent pages a single tax leaflet (containing the same matter as "The Cat" tract, No. 31, Single tax library). Nothing but "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade?" "Social Problems" and THE STANDARD are allowed a place in my window; and I shall shortly have a bulletin board on the sidewalk which will stand eight feet high, and upon which I intend to inscribe the contents of every week's STANDARD, so that those who have eyes and will see not must shut them. Say: I'm getting interested.

MARYLAND.

John W. Jones, Baltimore.—Our club has opened new quarters at Druid hall, corner of Gay and Baltimore streets. Our membership list is growing.

KANSAS.

Frank E. Avery, Holton.—The Topeka Capital is a rabidly republican protective paper; but of late it mentions Henry George with respect.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Thomas Howie, Anita, Cherokee Nation.—I regret that it is out of my power to help the single tax cause by a contribution. Honesty and industry get no reward, thanks to the so-called system of protection, and it is therefore no disgrace for a farmer to be poor, as it is impossible for him to succeed under present conditions. He is to blame, nevertheless, for it is his stupidity that upholds protection. Thank God, I don't belong to that class, for I was always a free trader so long as I can remember, and I am willing to put up with my own poverty if it will teach the fools a lesson. If grain at ten cents a bushel will not teach them, I hope their deplorable condition will continue till they are sufficiently punished for their folly. In my opinion they have had about enough already, but they do not seem to understand what is hurting them. I have found it difficult to renew my subscription to THE STANDARD, but I herewith send you \$1.25 for six months. I had to sell grain cheap to raise the money, and this remittance represents ten bushels of grain at twelve and a half cents per bushel. As I live in the Indian territory some may think this is quite enough for a poor Indian. I am more than pleased to see the progress the single tax cause is making here and in England.

THE MAN WITHOUT ANY ISLAND.

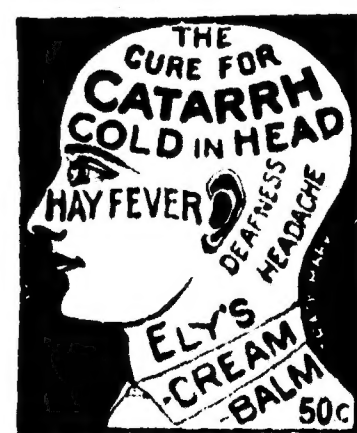
I am monarch of naught I survey,
My titles are all in dispute;
In fact I'm not fixed, as I see,
Half as well as a fowl or a brute.
O Poverty! where are the charms
That millionaires see in thy face?
For my part, I'm full of alarms;
On their Earth I've no right to a place.
There's never a town I can reach,
From Arctic to Antarctic zone
Where I won't hear the land grabber's speech,
"All the lots around here are my own."
You can have one by paying spot cash,
Five hundred where I paid a V.
To wrest thus from the people their own, am
I rash
If I swear it is shocking to me!
Oh! Justice has gone up above;
No dwelling place has she with men.
Must I wait till I've wings like a dove,
Before I can see her again?
Shall Charity's pittance assuage
The hunger of men, who in truth
Are despoiled of their own in old age
By laws which no less cursed their youth?
Fair Religion! thy priests may unfold
Our duties laid down in God's word;
Reminds us of blessings untold,
Beyond what this world can afford;
But the sound of no church-going bell,
Though by tax ridden people revered,
Has yet struck to earth stealing its knell,
Or proclaimed it a crime to be feared.

Oh! the Earth God hath given to all;
The few shall not "own" it for aye
Awake to humanity's call;
Restore what's been taken away.
No longer shall poverty reign
Where to each one his earth-right is given,
The Golden Age greets us again
And Earth herself blossoms a Heaven.
CHARLES HADRON.

AND DANA.

Houston Globe.
How full of humbug is this world!—(New York Sun.
Right! The so-called protective tariff, for instance.

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HAY-FEVER
AND
COLD IN HEAD
Ely's Cream Balm is not a liquid, snuff or powder. Applied into the nostrils it is quickly absorbed. It cleanses the head, allays inflammation, heals the sores. Sold by druggists or sent by mail on receipt of price.
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PRISONERS OF POVERTY.

SOME HARDSHIPS OF THE MEN WHO WORK IN THE LYON MOUNTAIN MINES OF THE CHATEAUGAY ORE AND IRON COMPANY.

A detective employed to work as a miner in the iron mines of the Chateaugay ore and iron company at Lyon mountain in the Adirondack region of this state tells his story in the World of last Sunday. He found that the workmen lived the life of slaves and were subjected to a dozen petty tyrannies at the hands of their employers. All the houses about the pits belong to the company; the only store in the place is a company store, and the postmaster, an employee of the company, maintains his office in the store. Married men rent wretched cabins of the company at from \$1.50 to \$2 per month, while single men board at the house of a widow who rents of the company. The rent of houses and the price of board are taken out of the wages by the company. If a man pays cash for board he runs the risk of having his wages docked all the same. All persons are forced, as far as possible, to buy of the company store, at rates from 50 to 150 per cent above ordinary retail prices. A few buy of peddlers, but workmen have at times been discharged and driven from the mountain for this offense. Two roads lead to one mine, and a toll gate closes each. Peddlers with wagons are sometimes required to pay \$5 to get through the gate to the settlement, so that in effect a domestic tariff is imposed for the benefit of the company store. Letters coming to the post office are handled by employees of the company before reaching those to whom they are addressed, and the postmaster is studiously uncivil. Married men pay seventy-five cents and single men fifty cents a month to a doctor's fund handled by the company, and the doctor employed is apparently very indifferent. Pay day comes once a month, anywhere between the 15th and 25th, of course, for the month ended two or three weeks before. The men are often in debt to the company when pay day comes round, and the detective on leaving the works was debited with fifty-three cents, though he figured out a credit of \$1.14. He went off without paying the alleged debt, though threatened with arrest. Here are specific facts and figures as to wages: \$1.10 for ten hours' work loading cars with iron ore, \$1.48 for eleven hours' work at the separator, \$1.40 for running a machine in the mines nine hours a day, and \$1.22 for helping on the machine. The "wollers" are the men who break up ore in the pits; they are paid by the ton, working for sub-contractors, and average about \$2 a day, the best paying work at the mines, and the hardest.

Here are some prices at the company store: A spool of No. 36 thread, 8 cents; package of needles, 8 cents; jumpers, \$1 (they cost \$3.50 a dozen wholesale); butter, 30 cents a pound; leggings for men, \$1.75; boots that can be bought elsewhere for \$2.75, cost here \$4.50; tobacco, 20 cents a pound that can be bought anywhere else for 10 cents.

PLANS TO MAKE MORE WORK.

At a meeting in Cooper union on Monday night, under the management of the American federation of labor, President Gompers, P. J. McGuire and John S. Kirchner made speeches favorable to the eight hour movement, though Mr. McGuire declared that he did not regard it as a solution of the labor question. The resolutions adopted recite that labor-saving machinery has made the abolition of poverty possible, but has worked so as to deprive many of employment, and therefore call upon all persons to aid in bringing about such a reduction of working hours as shall make it possible for all men to find work. The closing resolution declares specifically for eight hours as a day's labor.

SOUND DEMOCRACY.

H. Breitenstein in Union Pacific Employees' Magazine.

Protectionism is our enemy and protectionists treat us as the cunning trader does the unskillful Indian; they magnify their generosity when they give us baubles of little proportionate value in the shape of protection, instead of gold or the wherewith to purchase the necessities of life.

What does labor demand instead of protection? Simply justice. It has been found in the economic history of the world that a demonstrated wrong has been defended, and its continuance supported on the plea that to do justice to the many would inflict a loss on the few.

This is precisely the dilemma of our protectionist legislators to-day. We simply demand that this government shall not go beyond its proper functions; which are to maintain the public safety, to propound useful and equitable legislation; to arbitrate between interests when it is necessary; to extinguish privileges; to unite efficiency with economy in the administration of affairs; to prevent fraud and violence—without distinction to classes—to undertake the great affairs for which private action, individually or collectively, is inadequate.

BUT SUPPOSE THEY DO NOT EARN ENOUGH TO SUPPORT A WIFE.

Boston Globe.

Mr. Backwell, in his lecture on "The Working Girls of Boston," states that 25,000 young women of this city, not domestics, are supporting themselves by their own labor. If that is so there are about 25,000 young men who ought to be ashamed of themselves for allowing such a state of things.

PLAIN TALK TO FARMERS.

AN OREGON EDITOR DENOUNCES THE TARIFF, AND MAKES SIGNIFICANT ALLUSIONS TO THE LAND QUESTION.

Hon. John P. Wager, editor of the East Oregonian of Pendleton, who, while in the Oregon state senate, made a determined effort to secure the passage of the Australia ballot bill, recently delivered an address before the Farmers' institute at Pendleton. The speech was in many respects remarkable and its reception by farmers belonging to both political parties indicates that a great change is going on in the minds of the agricultural voters. Mr. Wager began by declaring that the farmers do not need any special legislation in their behalf, but a check upon the constant and persistent special legislation in behalf of others. The repeal of bad laws rather than the enactment of new ones, was the method he recommended, and he particularly urged the necessity of equal and uniform taxation; he said the chief aim of the national legislature, of late, has been to load taxes on part of the people in order to pay bounties to another part, and strange to say, the people thus unequally burdened, are the large majority and could remedy the injustice by their own votes. He advised the farmers to demand such changes in the assessment laws as would compel a full and fair assessment of all property, "even that of the rich." He said:

To this end I would suggest:

1. Precinct assessors.
2. An annual meeting of county assessors, to agree on uniform bases of listing all classes of property.
3. Equalization among the various counties by a state board, composed of at least seven members, one from each judicial district.
4. All assessments to be made as of a certain day and a certain hour of that day.
5. The assessing of real property to the property itself, by prepared plats, instead of to individuals.
6. The assessing of unused and unoccupied lands held for speculative purposes equally high with improved and occupied lands of like quality and natural value.
7. A gradual, but not an immediate, elimination of the provisions of the law allowing deductions for indebtedness.
8. Severe penalties upon assessors for any violation of their duties.

If these suggestions were carefully carried out, as they were attempted to be last winter, I have no doubt our assessment would treble in amount within two years, and the ratio of taxation would decrease in like proportion.

He urged the adoption of the Australian system of voting, and criticized state legislation, but said that all of the evils flowing from it are "only as mills to dollars compared to the wrongs inflicted upon the workmen and men of small means, especially farmers, by the national legislation of the last quarter of a century." He said:

I can mention but two or three instances; very briefly. One is the reckless squandering of the public domain. The heritage of the whole people and the special capital of all men, either directly to railroad or wagon road corporations, or indirectly by allowing it to pass in immense tracts into the hands of foreign syndicates, the occupant, if any, to be only tenants, that is, virtually serfs.

Perhaps it was well to assist the first transcontinental railroads to a reasonable extent; but it was not well in addition to great gifts of land to guarantee millions of bonds, to be paid finally, principal and interest, out of the money of taxpayers; it was not well to require the settler to pay double price for land within twenty miles of a paper railroad, not built for fifteen or twenty years after the time specified in the contract, upon which the settler relied as of sure performance when he paid his double price; it was not well to require strict compliance with the law on the part of the poor home builder, and allow the contract with the corporation to be violated over and over again with impunity; it was not well to say that the settler must relinquish lands found more valuable for mineral than agricultural purposes, and that the corporation might retain them despite the law—as at least one federal judge decided; it was not well to follow the individual settler who only claimed 160 acres of land, and that for a home, with informers and spies, and deprive him of it if he had perpetrated some trivial fraud, and at the same time encourage wealthy land grabbers to fraudulently acquire possession of millions of acres contrary to law, as has been done in California and other states and territories. There is no even-handed justice in these things, and they are all facts. The evil is now mostly done and over, and perhaps there is no redress; but I believe the time must soon come when the amount of land to be owned by any one person or company shall be restricted in amount, and that only to actual occupants or users. The time is ripe for demanding that no man be permitted to hold vacant land, a natural gift and a natural right, the heritage of all the people and of all the ages, unoccupied and unused, for speculative purposes. That one man may sit down here in Pendleton and own thousands of acres of fertile but untitled land out here in the country, for it to be made more valuable year by year by the toil and tribulation of those who live around it and pay taxes on their improvements, when tens of thousands of men are becoming serfs or paupers or criminals because there is no place on the God-given footstool for the soles of their feet, is a monstrous wrong, and one which it is the duty of legislators to right. It won't do to talk with owl-like wisdom about "vested rights." Some of these sacred cloaks of "vested rights" deserve to be torn into tatters by an aroused and outraged people, in pursuit of long-established, usurping and "vested" wrongs; and one of these is the ownership of more land than one can reasonably use, and the possession of more wealth than is good

for the community which he uses it to oppress.

After a careful and thorough exposure of the protective theory, the speaker devoted his special attention to the influence of the tariff on the interests of farmers. He declared that "free trade is a policy of civilization, of peace, of enterprise, of honest independence and of justice," while protection is a system of "reciprocal rapine by which farmers and the common laborers of the land are constantly plundered without receiving a single compensating favor of any sort from any source."

LAND VALUES IN MILWAUKEE.

Milwaukee Wisconsin.

Ex-Governor Ludington owns the lot on the northwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. It has a frontage of sixty feet on East Water street, and a side front of 143 feet on Wisconsin street. On this lot stands a building, the value of which, on account of its age, is estimated not to exceed \$20,000. An east side capitalist offered Governor Ludington \$200,000 cash for this corner. The governor has been considering this offer for two weeks past, in his winter home at Thomasville, Ga., and concluded not to accept it, as he deemed the price insufficient. The person who made the proffer intended to erect a two hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar building on the lot, in which was to be included a superb banking house. The offer for the land is virtually \$3,000 per foot front, the highest price offered for land in Milwaukee since the foundation of the city, and \$1,000 more per foot than has been offered for any site on the west side. The Ludington corner is a most desirable one, but many think no better than some other corners in our city. Fifty-five years ago a lot, for which is now offered \$180,000, sold for \$5,000. As the lot has always brought at least 12 per cent net per annum on the original investment, including the cost of improvements, some will remark that owning a wisely-selected corner lot in the city of Milwaukee is about as good as owning a California gold mine.

WOULD SET PEOPLE THINKING.

London, England, Church Reformer.

The New York STANDARD in which paragraphs of "Society Notes" in which paragraphs of fashionable intelligence, recording the pleasures and luxuries of the rich, are arranged alternately with other newspaper reports throwing light on the condition of the poor. Some of our English newspapers might with advantage adopt this method of bringing our social contrasts before the public mind. There is certainly no lack of material.

A BIT OF SARCASM.

Boston Globe.

Nellie Bly says that during almost the whole of her journey round the world she never saw the American flag. If she had only thought of it in advance the Globe would have given her one to take with her. That's the only way Americans ever do see the stars and stripes when they are away from home—thanks to the tariff and shipping laws.

IT'S LOADED TO THE MUZZLE.

Collector Beard (rep.) of Boston.

There is danger in talking about the tariff.

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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hennings, 1910 Main st.

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909 1/2 Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m., 541 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pleace; sec., G. A. Hubbell. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

SACRAMENTO.—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. B. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Hadkins.

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., A. J. Gray; sec., Clarence A. Gray, rooms 24-25 Bryson-Bonebrake block.

SAN DIEGO.—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, Novellette book stand, 439 Fifth st.

BLACK DIAMOND.—Contra Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

COLORADO.

STATE.—Colorado State single tax association, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Free reading room open every day, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 2951 Marion st.

PUEBLO.—Commonwealth single tax club. First and Fourth Thursdays at office of D. B. V. Reeve, Union av. Pres., D. B. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co.

GRAND JUNCTION.—Mesa county single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., James W. Bucklin; sec., Geo. Smith.

CANYON CITY.—Single tax committee; sec., Dr. Frank P. Blake.

HAWKSHURST.—Plateau Valley single tax club. Pres., John W. Hawkshurst; sec., E. H. Parkerson.

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, room 11, 102 Orange st. Pres., Willard D. Warren; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. 3 p. m. every Sunday, Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Willis, P. O. box 1342.

DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box 146, Bristol.

RAPID CITY.—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

MADISON.—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 609 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

FLORIDA.

PENSACOLA.—Pensacola single tax club No. 1. Tuesday evenings, K. of L. hall, corner of Zaragoza and Palafox sts. Pres., J. Davis Wolfe; sec., James McHugh.

TAMPA.—Thomas G. Shearman single tax league. First Monday in each month, business meeting; Sundays, public speaking. Pres., C. E. Ainsworth; sec., John H. McCormick.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

AUGUSTA.—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec., George Haines, care of Lofin & Meyer.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., T. W. Witter, 426 Milwaukee ave.

SPRINGFIELD.—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farriss; sec., James H. McCrea, 623 Black ave.

JACKSONVILLE.—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

SPARTA.—Single tax committee. Sec., Wm. R. Bailey.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Ferry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

INDIANA.

STATE.—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; S. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

CLINTON.—Single tax club; Sunday afternoons, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., W. V. Wells; sec., L. O. Bishop.

FORT WAYNE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice-pres., J. M. Schwerzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

EVANSVILLE.—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 313 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Moses, 900 Hedge ave.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballanger.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 2:30 p. m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., L. Kinnehan, 335 W. Broadway.

ALBERTON.—Tax reform club. Every Thursday evening, Vest's hall. Pres., A. J. Morgan; sec., D. D. Shirley.

MASON CITY.—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Scranton; sec., J. S. Mott.

KANSAS.

ABILENE.—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

GROVE HILL.—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Second, third and fourth Thursdays of each month, at 205 Canal st. Pres., John S. Waters, Maritime association; sec., Geo. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1237 7th st.

LEWISTON.—Single tax committee. Every Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Thursday evening, Druid hall, cor. Jay and Baltimore sts. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden; sec., J. W. Jones, 31 N. Caroline st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland; sec., Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square.

Neponset single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 389 1/2 Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

Dorchester single tax club. Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Pres., Ed. Frost; sec., John Lavis, 13 Leonard st.

Roxbury single tax club. Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

STONEHAM.—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tinton st.

WORCESTER.—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

LAWRENCE.—Lawrence single tax club. Every Thursday evening, Col. J. P. Sweeney's office. Pres., Col. John P. Sweeney; sec., John J. Donovan, city clerk's office.

HYDE PARK.—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

ORANGE.—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kidder.

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimack assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimack st.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

MICHIGAN.

STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Every Tuesday evening, C. Jacob's justice court room. Pres., Rufus Spaulding; sec., Thomas Harding.

SAGINAW.—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggenier; sec., Jas. Duffy, 803 State st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Thursday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

South Minneapolis single tax club. Wednesday evenings, at 150 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hammersley.

ST. PAUL.—Pres., H. C. McCarty; sec., R. C. Morgan, Northern Pacific railroad office.

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax league. S. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. K. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2213 Eugenia street.

"Benton School of Social Science." Saturday, 8 p. m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

LA DUE.—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. Lectures Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sunday afternoons at 3. Headquarters, cor. 15th st. and Grand av.; open every week day until 10 o'clock p. m.; the public cordially invited. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., J. C. Williams, N. Y. Life building.

HEMANN.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

HIGH GATE.—Single tax league. Meetings on alternate Thursdays at the house of W. M. Kinhead. Pres., Wm. Kinhead; sec., J. W. Swaw.

OAK HILL.—Single tax league. Pres., F. Deboit; sec., J. W. Miller.

NEBRASKA.

OMAHA.—Omaha single tax club. Sunday afternoons, Gate City hall, cor. 13th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus S. Parker; sec., Cyrus F. Beckett, 411 N. 33d st.

WYOMING.—Henry George single tax club. Pres., H. C. Jaynes; sec., J. A. Hamm.

NEW JERSEY.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Business meetings every other Friday evening at the Avenue house, "Five Corners." Pres., E. N. Jackson, 33 Magnolia av.; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 247 Grove st.

NEWARK.—Newark single tax club. Pres., Herbert Boggs, 82 Broad st.; sec., M. G. Gaffney, 42 Warren place.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Monday evening at 169 Market street.

S. ORANGE.—S. Orange single tax club. Pres., E. H. Wallace; sec., Henry Haase.

VINELAND.—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. P. Nichols, box 924.

JANVIER.—Janvier single tax and ballot reform club. Alternate Thursday evenings, Janvier hall. Pres., W. J. Rice; sec., Sydney B. Walsh.

CAMDEN.—Camden single tax club. Pres., Louis M. Randall; sec., Wm. M. Callingham.

WASHINGTON.—Washington land and tax club. Pres., John Morrison; sec., W. H. Christine.

BAYONNE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, Wm. R. DuBois.

PASSAIC.—Single tax committee of Passaic. Pres., Oscar D. Wood.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting, first Thursday of each month, at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 36 Clinton pl.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

Harlem single tax club, room 3, 247 West 125th st. Business meeting every Tuesday, 8:30 p. m. Whist and social evening every Thursday. Pres., Eugene G. Muret; sec., Chas. H. Mitchell.

North New York single tax club. Every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 2540 3d ave. Pres., James R. Small; sec., Thomas F. Foy.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Peter Aitken; cor. sec., Robert Baker, 884 Greene av.

The Eastern District single tax club. Wednesday evening, Oriental hall, 316 Bedford ave. Pres., John Britton; sec., Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.

BUFFALO.—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Central labor union hall. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Buddenburg, P. O. box 190.

ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynolds's Arcade. Pres., J. H. Bluntach; sec., J. M. Campbell, 30 Charlotte st.

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 68 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., Alexander Gregory; cor. sec., James J. Mahoney, 2 Division st.

SYRACUSE.—Syracuse single tax club. 113 Walton street. Pres., F. A. Paul; sec., H. K. Perry, 149 South Clinton st.

POUGHKEEPSIE.—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., 226 Union st. Pres., W. C. Albro; sec., F. S. Arnold.

AUBURN.—Single tax club. Mondays, 7:30 p. m., College hall. Pres., Dan. Peacock; sec., H. W. Benedict, 6 Morris st.

ELLENVILLE.—Single tax club of Ellenville. First and third Monday of each month, Canal st., over E. Bevier's drug store. Pres., Wm. Lambert; sec., Benj. Hull.

FLUSHING.—Single tax club. Pres., D. C. Beard; sec., Fred Sheffield.

NEW BRIGHTON.—S. I.—Richmond county single tax club. Every Monday evening, Parabol hall, New Brighton. Pres., J. S. Cogan; sec., A. B. Stoddard, W. New Brighton.

NORTHPORT.—Single tax committee. Sec., J. K. Rudyard.

OWEGO.—Single tax committee. Sec., Perry Hyde.

TROY.—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martis, 576 River st.

CONROES.—Single tax committee. Pres., P. C. Dandurant; sec., J. S. Crane 128 Ontario st.

GLOVERSVILLE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, A. P. Shade; sec., Dr. Wm. C. Wood, 30 S. Main st.

SCHUYLERSVILLE.—Schuylersville single tax club. Every Friday evening, residence of J. H. Bullard. Pres., J. H. Bullard; sec., R. S. Wells.

JAMESTOWN.—Single tax club of Jamestown. Last Saturday evening of each month. Pres., Adam Stormer; sec., F. G. Anderson, 300 Barrett st.

YONKERS.—The Jefferson club, 85 Main st. Always open. Business meeting every Tuesday evening at 7:45.

OHIO.

STATE.—Ohio single tax league. State executive board: Pres., W. F. Bien, 1638 Wilson av., Cleveland; vice-pres., J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel st., Dayton; treas., Wm. Radcliffe, Youngstown; sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, room 3, 348 1/2 S. High st., Columbus.

CLEVELAND.—Cleveland single tax club. Every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., 144 Ontario st., room 16. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., C. H. Nau, room 25, Standard block.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Sunday afternoon. Club room, Bradford's block, n. w. cor. 6th and Vine sts. Pres., James Semple, 478 Central av.; sec., Alfred H. Henderson, 23 Clark st.

COLUMBUS.—Central single tax club. Sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, 348 1/2 S. High st.

Columbus single tax club. Meets Sunday at 3:30 p. m. Pres., H. S. Swank, 51 Clinton building; sec., E. Hullinger.

Tiffin.—Single tax committee. Sec., Dr. H. F. Barnes.

HAMILTON.—Hamilton single tax club. Every Saturday evening at 214 High st. Pres., Howard Rich; sec., Ambrose Strang, 742 E. Dayton st.

GALION.—Galion single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 S. Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., John Birch; sec., W. W. Kile, 105 E. 5th st.

AKRON.—Akron single tax club. Pres., Jno. McBride; sec., Sam Rodgers.

MIAMI.—Land and labor association of Miami. Pres., C. F. Beall; sec., J. F. Beals.

MANASSA.—Manassas single tax club. Pres., Dr. T. J. Bristor; sec., W. J. Huggins, 60 W. 1st st.

TOLEDO.—Single tax club No. 1 meets at 119 Summit st. every Sunday at 10 a. m. Pres., A. R. Wyant; sec., J. P. Traversa.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 6 S. Market st.

ZANESVILLE.—Central single tax club. Pres., W. H. Loughhead; sec., Wm. Quigley.

OREGON.

PORTLAND.—Portland ballot reform and single tax club. 2d and 4th Thursdays of each month, Grand Army hall. Pres., R. H. Thompson; sec., S. B. Rigger, 48 Stark st.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Henry George club. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., 904 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

Kensington single tax club. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 221 Frankford ave., Philadelphia. Pres., James Wright; sec., Jno. Moore, 2188 E. Huntingdon st.

PITTSBURGH.—Pittsburgh single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2:30 p. m., 102 Fourth av. Pres., Edmund Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 24th st., S. E.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club, St. James place. Open every evening. Meetings Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. Pres., Phil. D. Tanguay; sec., J. C. De Forist.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 402 1/2 Penn st. Pres., C. S. Prizer; cor. sec., Grant Nagle, 208 S. Third st.

ERIE.—Erie tax reform league. Pres., W. G. McKean; sec., J. L. Babcock.

EDWARDSVILLE.—Jefferson ballot reform and single tax club. First Friday of each month. Pres., J. J. Smythe, M. D.; sec., J. P. Hammond.

LEBANON.—Lebanon single tax and law club. Pres., Adam Behny; sec., J. G. Zimmerman, 111 N. Fourteenth st.

SCRANTON.—Henry George single tax club. 1st and 3d Friday evenings of each month, Noake's hall, cor. Franklin and Spruce sts. Pres., Duncan Wright; sec., Arthur McGee, 914 Capouse ave.

SHENANDOAH.—Single tax club. Sundays, 3 p. m., 415 W. Coal st. Pres., Morris Marsh; sec., Thomas G. Potts.

UPPER MICHIGAN.—Single tax committee. Pres., J. B. Carr; sec., George McGee.

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres. A. J. Moxham; sec., Richard Eyre.

POTTSVILLE.—Single tax club. Meetings 1st and 3d Friday evenings each month in Weitzendorfer's hall. Pres., D. L. Hays; sec., H. H. Johnson, 530 Walnut st.

RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE.—Single tax association of Rhode Island. Alternate Friday evenings room 22, Slade building, cor. Washington and Eddy sts. Pres., Dr. Wm. Barker; sec., Geo. D. Liddell, 145 Transit st.

PAWTUCKET.—Single tax association. Every Wednesday evening, Main st. Pres., Edward Barker; sec., Edgar Farnell, 220 Mineral Spring ave.

TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Sundays, 4:30 p. m., Luehrman's hotel. Pres., Dr. T. J. Crofford; sec., M. H. McDowell, care of Townsend, Cowie & Co.

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